National Library of Canada
Canadian Theses Service
Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale du Canada
Services des thèses canadiennes

CANADIAN THESES

THÈSES CANADIENNES

NOTICE

The quality of this microfiche is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Previously copyrighted materials (journal articles, published tests, etc.) are not filmed.

Reproduction in full or in part of this film is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30. Please read the authorization forms which accompany this thesis.

AVIS

La qualité de cette microfiche dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

Les documents qui font déjà l'objet d'un droit d'auteur (articles de revue, examens publiés, etc.) ne sont pas microfilmés.

La reproduction, même partielle, de ce microfilm est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30. Veuillez prendre connaissance des formules d'autorisation qui accompagnent cette thèse.

THIS DISSERTATION
HAS BEEN MICROFILMED
EXACTLY AS RECEIVED

LA THÈSE A ÉTÉ
MICROFILMÉE TELLE QUE
NOUS L'AVONS REÇUE

NL 339 (r. 86/01)

Canada

National Library of Canada
Bibliothèque nationale du Canada

Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

149

TC –

IS 0-315-23346-X

CANADIAN THESES ON MICROFICHE SERVICE – SERVICE DES THÈSES CANADIENNES SUR MICROFICHE

PERMISION TO MICROFILM – AUTORISATION DE MICROFILMER

• Please print or type – Écrire en lettres moulées ou dactylographiér

AUTHOR – AUTEUR

Full Name of Author – Nom complet de l'auteur

BASABI ROY

Date of Birth – Date de naissance

FEB 27 1958

Canadian Citizen – Citoyen canadien

☐ Yes / Oui ☒ No / Non

Country of Birth – Lieu de naissance

INDIA / CALCUTTA

Permanent Address – Résidence fixe

SRI AUROBINDO ASHRAM
PONDICHERRY 605002
INDIA

THESIS – THÈSE

Title of Thesis – Titre de la thèse

FORMAL EDUCATION AS STATUS RECONFIRMATION : THE INDIAN CONTEXT

Degree for which thesis was presented
Grade pour lequel cette thèse fut présentée

M.ED.

Year this degree conferred
Année d'obtention de ce grade

FALL 1985

University – Université

UNIV. OF ALBERTA

Name of Supervisor – Nom du directeur de thèse

DR. H. GARFINKLE

AUTHORIZATION – AUTORISATION

Permission is hereby granted to the NATIONAL LIBRARY OF CANADA to **microfilm** this thesis and to **lend** or **sell copies of the film.**

The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's written permission.

L'autorisation est, par la présente, accordée à la BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DU CANADA de **microfilmer** cette thèse et de **prêter** ou de **vendre des exemplaires du film.**

L'auteur se réserve les autres droits de publication; ni la thèse ni de longs extraits de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans l'autorisation écrite de l'auteur.

ATTACH FORM TO THESIS – VEUILLEZ JOINDRE CE FORMULAIRE À LA THÈSE

Signature

Basabi Roy

Date

July 22nd 1985

NL-91 (r. 84/03)

Canada

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FORMAL EDUCATION AS STATUS RECONFIRMATION: THE INDIAN CONTEXT

by

BASABI ROY

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND

RESEARCH IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE

REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF EDUCATION

IN

HISTORY OF EDUCATION

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATIONS

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

FALL 1985

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

RELEASE FORM

NAME OF AUTHOR: BASABI ROY

TITLE OF THESIS: FORMAL EDUCATION AS STATUS RECONFIRMATION: THE INDIAN CONTEXT

DEGREE FOR WHICH THESIS WAS PRESENTED: MASTER OF EDUCATION

YEAR THIS DEGREE GRANTED: 1985

Permission is hereby granted to THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA LIBRARY to reproduce single copies of this thesis and to lend or sell such copies for private, scholarly or scientific research purposes only.

The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's written permission.

(Signed) Basabi Roy

PERMANENT ADDRESS:

Sri Aurobindo Ashram

Pondicherry 605002

India

DATED July 26 1985

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled "Formal Education as Status Reconfirmation: The Indian Context" submitted by Basabi Roy in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Education in History of Education.

.....
Supervisor

.....

.....

.....

Date .....

DEDICATION

To My Parents

ABSTRACT

Employing a theoretical framework developed by Martin Carnoy, formal education in colonial and post-colonial India is examined. The principal focus is upon the connection between elites, language of learning and schooling.

It is shown that the elite language in various historical periods was available only a minority and was also the language of the system of formal education. For example, in ancient India, it was Sanskrit; in medieval India, it was Persian; and in colonial and post-colonial India, it was and is English.

Language and the structure of formal education have been the two components of status reconfirmation for the elite in India. In the 19th century, cultural imperialism through the spread of English education gave rise to the English-educated elite who have since monopolized the formal structure of education.

The elite sector of schooling has rapidly expanded in the post-independence era and provides the sole access to the circles of power. Parallel sectors of schooling have emerged but remain handicapped in comparison to the elite sector. An analysis of the elite sector, language control and the elitism of science education is followed by a brief conclusion.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor, Dr. H. Garfinkle of the Department of Educational Foundations for his help and advice. I also wish to thank the other three members of my examining committee, Dr. H.W. Hodysh of the Department of Educational Foundations, Dr. J.P. Das of the Department of Educational Psychology and Dr. P. Lawson of the Department of History for their critical review of the thesis, and their constructive suggestions.

I wish to acknowledge the help and guidance provided by Dr. R.S. Pannu of the Department of Educational Foundations. Dr. Pannu was a constant source of inspiration to me in the last two years and it would be appropriate to add that his commitment to helping his students is truly outstanding.

I wish to express my appreciation for the encouragement and guidance provided by Dr. Brian Titley of the Department of Educational Foundations and by Ms Kathleen De Long of the Herbert T. Coutts Library. A special note of thanks is extended to Joan Theander for her commendable effort in typing this thesis.

My parents have been a lifelong source of support and inspiration to me and I cannot express my love and gratitude to them in mere words. My Uncle and Aunt, Jyoti and Mithu Sengupta have taken very good care of me during my stay in Edmonton, providing support and encouragement whenever I

needed it. My grandmother, Mrs. Indira Sengupta, has always been there for me, particularly during my two years of study at the University of Alberta. My cousin, Jayshree Sengupta deserves my sincere gratitude for all the help she has provided during the course of this thesis.

I wish to acknowledge deep indebtedness for the encouragement provided by Sri Amal Kumar Bose of Sri Aurobindo Bhavan, Calcutta, whose faith in my abilities, even in my most wayward years, was a great source of inspiration to me. I also wish to thank Mrs. Gita Das for all her help and advice which truly kept me going in the last two years.

Finally, I owe a debt of gratitude to my friend and room-mate Yoko Urata for her constant support and encouragement in the last year of my Master's Degree. It would be quite fair to add that I could not have completed everything to my entire satisfaction without her help.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
1	INTRODUCTION	1
	Scope of the Study and its Limitations	3
	Hypothesis	4
	Methodology	6
	Organization of the Thesis	7
2	THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	9
	Section I: Carnoy Revisited	9
	Section II: The Contribution of Samuel Bowles	13
	Section III: Colonial Education and Neo-Colonialism in Education	15
	Section IV: Theories of Elites and the Idea of Status Reconfirmation	23
3	HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF EDUCATION IN INDIA	27
	Section 1a: Ancient Indian Education	27
	Section 1b: Muslim Education	31
	Section II: Education in Pre-British India	33
4	POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT	35
	Section I: The National Movement	35
	Section II: Economic Impact of British Rule	43
	Section IIIa: Post Independence Era: Plans and Strategies	52
	Section IIIb: The Real Indian Experience	57

CHAPTER PAGE

5 COLONIAL EDUCATION 63

Section I: Education as Cultural Imperialism in Colonial British India. 63

The Beginnings of Western Education. . . . 64

Establishment of Western Education 65

Orientalism. 67

Education in Indigenous Languages. 74

Wood Education Despatch. 76

Section II: Education on the Eve of Indian Independence in 1947 82

6 FORMAL EDUCATION IN THE POST-INDEPENDENCE ERA. 86

Section I: Five Year Plans 86

Achievements of Planned Development. . . . 96

Problems of Planned Development. 99

7 EDUCATION AS STATUS RECONFIRMATION 104

The Elite School Factor in India 106

The English Language, Control and Status-Reconfirmation. 111

Science, Technology and Elitism. 115

Elite Education and the Contradiction of Mass Examination. 117

8 CONCLUSION 119

REFERENCES 125

APPENDICES 135

Appendix I. 135

Appendix II 136

Appendix III. 137

CHAPTER PAGE

Appendix IV. 139

Appendix V 140

Appendix VI. 143

Appendix VII 144

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

In the West, India evokes images of Maharajas, spices and snake-charmers. The Maharajas are extinct now as a breed, and their titles and kingdoms are gone. Spices are so expensive that the mass of Indians cannot afford to buy them. And the snake-charmer is usually a poor man or woman, struggling to feed the family and the snake. The mystique of India has been worn down to a great extent by recent knowledge of the underdevelopment, poverty, and illiteracy which persists there, along with her ancient heritage. However, "the culture" that is India is as important as her socio-economic-political scenario to the wider world.

The history of Indian education has been written many times by capable historians. The aim of this work is not to deny or de-emphasize the contribution of these historians, but to provide a fresh perspective to the growth and development of formal education in India. The interpretation chosen will examine the course of formal education briefly through history before dealing in detail with the rise of colonial education and the concept of cultural imperialism. The impact of colonial education will be examined with an emphasis on the most lasting legacy, neo-colonialism in education. An attempt has been made to place both colonial and post-independence education in a historical context of

political and economic developments. Education does not operate in a vacuum and is necessarily a reflection of the economic and social reality. An accurate representation of this reality in each historical epoch has been the most challenging aspect of this endeavour.

The history of formal education in India is in fact a history of elite education. In each historical period, formal education remained the domain of the elite - the Brahmins and some upper castes in ancient India, and the wealthy and the powerful in medieval India. The introduction of English education in colonial India created the culture of the English-educated elite. This culture of English education has preserved the status of this elite group who have maintained English education to protect and foster their interests in reconfirming their status.

The analytical framework of this thesis is derived from that of Martin Carnoy in his classic Education as Cultural Imperialism (1974). It would be appropriate to acknowledge a deep intellectual debt to the work of Carnoy, since his concept of 'cultural imperialism' originally inspired this thesis. The challenge of a thesis is to make a specific contribution to scholarship, in this case, historical scholarship. The history of elite education is not a new path by any means. Yet, it is to be hoped that the attempt to trace the course of elite control over formal education in different historical periods and how this control was used to maintain elite interests and reconfirm elite status, will make such a

contribution.

Scope of the Study and its Limitations

The question of formal education is a multi-faceted issue and it was not possible to deal with all the angles. Formal education was analyzed in the light of elite interests and the perpetuation of elite roles through an elite sector of formal education. The subject of women and education is an important one and was not explored in this thesis. It would be satisfying to study this in its entirety at a later date. The issue of inequality and education is also an important one and an examination of urban-rural, male-female, rich-poor inequities could form the subject of an entire thesis. This thesis does not deal with inequality and education directly but in the context of the preservation of elite roles. The legacy of colonialism in the sphere of formal education, which has retained the same structure, despite political independence, is within the scope of the thesis. The primacy of the English language in formal education and its role in maintaining elite status has been explored. Neo-colonialism, as a lasting legacy of colonialism in education, was tied into the maintenance of elite roles through an elite sector of formal education.

Since it was not possible to do an in-depth field study of this particular topic in India, this thesis is based on secondary sources and published materials in the area of Indian history and Indian education.

Hypothesis

Formal education in India has been restricted to the elite through the use of different languages, based on social differentiation. In Ancient India, Sanskrit was the court language and Prakrit was the language of the common people. Formal education, then, was in Sanskrit and was restricted to a few male members of the upper castes.

Persian was the official language of the Mughal empire and people had to master this language if they wanted to participate in the administration or even gain privileges and concessions from the monarchy. Persian was the elite language, while the masses remained confined to regional languages.

Under British colonization, missionaries triggered the beginnings of Western education. Gradually, an English education system evolved as part of a process of cultural and economic imperialism in the 19th century. English education was not for the masses and remained restricted to a small group of people who became the English-educated class and acted as intermediaries between the British Raj and the rest of the Indian population. The indigenous system of education was gradually eroded, since knowledge of the English language was a major requirement in earning a living during the colonial era.

In post-independence India, despite the rhetoric of educational growth and its accompanying advantages, formal

education was never redesigned on an egalitarian basis, committed to the spread of mass literacy. Formal education in India has been and is predominantly a method of status reinforcement for the elite. In the present context, formal education in English remains largely the preserve of the elite. Since English remains the major language of the administration, commerce and higher education, a knowledge of English, through elite institutions, is a necessary part of status maintenance, as well as for holding positions of authority. By restricting the spread of English education, the English-educated elite are able to limit their status group to a small number. The elite sector of education successfully performs the task of status reconfirmation for a small section of Indians.

It may be argued that formal education has witnessed tremendous expansion, particularly at the higher levels. The expansion into vernacular education has given a larger section of the population the option to obtain formal education. Literacy has increased and enrolments at all levels have gone up many-fold since independence. Yet, in real terms, this apparently phenomenal increase in figures has not served the total population.

The formal education structure remains quite small in comparison to the dramatic increase in the population since independence. Different types of formal education, like English-education through the elite sector of formal education or vernacular education through state schools, have led to a

sharp dichotomy between English-educated and vernacular-educated Indians. Formal education essentially caters to the elite and has heightened the divisions between the small English-education section, the vernacular-educated section and the majority of illiterate Indians.

Methodology

The methodology utilized for writing this thesis consists of an analysis of written materials in the area of Indian history and Indian education. An extensive library search was conducted to locate reports, books and articles relating to this particular study.

A theoretical framework was arrived at after an analysis of the framework of Martin Carnoy in his work Education as Cultural Imperialism and a brief look at a study by Samuel Bowles in an article relating to the Third World. The question of elites and status reconfirmation was explored through the theories of Pareto, Mosca, C. Wright Mills, Marx and Weber, in order to grasp the idea of elites and how they go about reinforcing their status. The framework also includes an analysis of the impact of colonial education, emphasizing its chief legacy, neo-colonialism, which is tied to the role of the English-educated elite who maintain their interests through the system of formal education.

The political-economic impact of British rule, as well as the post-independence development strategy with a view to the real Indian experience, will give the reader a historical

focus of the period of study. A brief exploration of Ancient Indian education, Muslim education, as well as education in pre-colonial India, will provide an idea of the structure of indigenous education.

The concept of education as cultural imperialism is explored in detail with a brief insight into the state of education on the eve of Indian independence. Planned development in education gives an insight into the structure of Indian education which remains unchanged after independence. The English-educated elite, entrenched in this structure, reinforce their status through the control of language and an elite sector of education. The majority of the population remains largely illiterate. Some of the data for establishing the hypothesis was drawn from current material presented in a conference on "Education and Social Change in India", as recent as June 10-13, 1985, in McGill University, Montreal. A brief conclusion completes the study.

Organization of the Thesis

The thesis is organized into six major chapters, preceded by a brief introduction and followed by a brief conclusion. The introduction is followed by Chapter 2 which is the theoretical framework, initially encompassing a review of the framework of Martin Carnoy, Samuel Bowles, and then arriving at a discussion of elite theories of Pareto, Mosca, C. Wright Mills, Marx and Weber in conceptualizing Status Reconfirmation. Following this, the framework includes a study of the impact

of colonial education, with its most important legacy, neo-colonialism.

Chapter 3 is a shorter chapter dealing with ancient Indian education, Muslim education and pre-colonial education in India.

Chapter 4 deals with the national movement for independence and the British economic impact on India. The post-independence development strategy, as well as the real Indian experience, is also included in this chapter.

Chapter 5 examines education as cultural imperialism and also provides a brief idea of the state of education on the eve of Indian independence.

Chapter 6 surveys the post-independence schooling plans of India, analyzing its merits and demerits.

Chapter 7 looks into education as a method of status reinforcement for the elite, with emphasis on elite schools, the primacy of the English language and scientific-technical education and elitism. A very brief section on Elite Education and the contradiction of mass examination is included.

A brief conclusion follows Chapter 7.

Chapter 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Section I: Carnoy Revisited

Carnoy provides a framework for the analysis of colonial education and its persistent significance. This framework clarifies the role of formal education as one of the many institutions that produced and perpetuated the conditions of dependency and the psychological relations of colonialism (Carnoy, 1984, p. 32).

Carnoy states that the analysis of relations between capitalist nations and the impact of such relations on the character of individuals and groups is based on varied and sometimes contradictory literature (Carnoy, 1974, p. 32). So it is necessary to comprehend the evolution of the intellectual discussion which covers imperialism and colonialism before attempting to assess the role of formal education in the context of these relations. Therefore, according to Carnoy, it is through this intellectual discussion of imperialism and colonialism that it is possible to locate the roots of differences between his analysis of formal education and the conceptions of formal education which emphasize a developmental character.

The major work in imperialism and colonialism, the opposing views of Schumpeter and Lenin, and their

implications for the assessment of the function of formal education in a society, provides the basic foundation of Carnoy's theoretical framework for analyzing the role of formal education. Carnoy argues that Lenin's views, in spite of recent modifications, are much more useful for understanding international relations in the world capitalist structure than Schumpeter's "non-existent capitalist ideal" (Carnoy, 1974, p. 33). The analysis of the expansion of Western formal education through "imperialistic relations" with an "imperialistic theory of development" appears far more logical to Carnoy in constructing his framework of analysis than a theory derived from Western capitalist" notions of "improving social welfare" (Carnoy, 1974, p. 33).

Pioneering theories of imperialism have been followed by additional theories of dependency and colonialism. Lenin analyzed the sources and effects of imperialism in the industrialized nations, particularly the roots of imperial domination of Asia and Africa by the industrialized nations and its direct relationships with the causes of World War I. The more recent theories of dependency and colonialism (Alavi, 1971, Magdoff, 1969, Galtung, 19) support Lenin's counter view of capitalist development and his notion of relating institutions within countries to international relations and placing individuals within the context of the international system (Carnoy, 1974, p. 33). The theories of dependency and colonialism are applied to education in different historical periods and different types of imperial

conditions.

In defining the details of the framework, Carnoy initially deals with theories of imperialism (Schumpeter, 1955, Lenin, 1965) and then goes on to the analysis of some recent contributions to these theories (Magdoff, 1969, Alavi, 1971, Galtung, 1971, Frank, 1969). This is followed by an assessment of theories of dependency in the imperialist context (Frank, 1969, Cardoso, 1969). Finally, he deals with theories of colonialism (Lenin, 1965), emphasizing the psychological relations of colonialism and the role of schooling in colonialism (Manoni, 1950, Memmi, 1965, Fanon, 1968).

After examining the specific aspects of the framework, Carnoy infers that formal education has helped a small section of the population to be better in the colonial situation, and, as a logical response, the colonized demanded more education which would help them succeed in the European hierarchy. However, he emphasizes that this is not the focus of the framework of analysis (Carnoy, 1974, p. 43). The central question, according to Carnoy, is whether the people incorporated into the bounds of empire would have been better off under some alternative pattern of development. This is truly an "if" of history, a hypothetical question. But Carnoy reiterates that its implications for the present are not hypothetical, since much of the world is part and parcel of capitalist empires, as is formal education which accompanied European economic interest and influence.

Carnoy points out that all the authors who write about colonialism deal with education in some form. Colonial education never intended to reach the masses. The similarities and the differences between metropolitan and colonial school systems both work against the colonized. The curriculum and language is often the same and emphasize socialization into Western values, language and norms, which often include Christianity and the degradation of all that is indigenous (Carnoy, 1974, p. 70). Carnoy highlights the emphasis placed by Memmi on the permanent duality in the colonized caused by Western education. The creation of linguistic dualism leads to a cultural catastrophe in the colonized which is never completely overcome (Carnoy, 1974, p. 70).

Section II: The Contribution of Samuel Bowles

The phase of formal independence and the education system in newly-independent colonies can also be analyzed in the light of the theoretical framework of Samuel Bowles (1980). Bowles states that formal education plays an essential role in capitalist growth by:

(a) regulating the labour flow between the capitalist and traditional modes of production,
(b) raising productivity in the capitalist mode,
(c) thwarting the development of either a large and class-conscious proletariat or a peasant-worker coalition, and
(d) undermining the ideological and political hegemony of traditional elites (Bowles, 1980, p. 226).

However, in the independent colonies, like India, the state represents primarily the interests of the upper classes, and these interests dominate educational policy - not a commitment to equality or to maximizing the rate of growth of per capita output of the nation (Bowles, 1980, p. 226). As Bowles rather aptly states:

> Egalitarian or economic growth promoting education thus confronts its limits in the imperatives of the reproduction of the class structure, the logic of the accumulation process, and the capitalist domination of the state. The primary obstacle to more bountiful and broadly shared economic rewards is the distribution of power, not the distribution of human capital (Bowles, 1980, p. 226).

Educational programs can be used to further social equality or to contribute to a more rational growth process, only when they are part of a popular political movement to challenge the class structure and the uneven development of the capitalist social formation. Bowles refers to Paulo

Freire's politicized literacy training in Brazil and Mao Tse Tung's Rectification Movement of 1942-4 as examples of such education programs. However, the functions and benefits of such education programs have to be looked at in the context of rebellion against the capitalist order, since little improvement can be secured as the roots of capitalism are embedded on a foundation of inequality.

Section III: Colonial Education and Neo-Colonialism in Education

The formal education systems that developed in former colonies under the colonial powers like Britain, were essentially alien creations (Watson, 1982). They portrayed the philosophy of their founders, be it the colonial/metropolitan power or the missionary society and were designed to serve the interests and purposes of these groups. Macaulay's Minutes emphasizing the Anglicist policy of education was a reflection of the philosophy of the British colonial administration. Macaulay stressed English education since it would further the cause of colonial development and would lead to greater cooperation with and respect for the colonizer on the part of the colonized. The provision of formal education in English would provide clerks for the British Indian administration and the commercial houses.

Missionary societies viewed education as a means of religious propagation and conversion to Christianity. Missionary societies were based in urban areas, serving the English community as well as the indigenous elite by supplying centres of English education as well as religious activity. In rural areas, missionary activity centered around conversion to Christianity, with its major focus being on the social structure based on caste. Its aim was to civilize India (Carnoy, 1984).

Needless to add, the colonized people were deprived of any

role in determining the scope or content of schooling and education policies were often adopted without their consent and against their wishes (Watson, 1982, p. 27). As formal education structures developed under the aegis of the colonial government, the existing patterns of traditional schooling began to lose their importance. With the strengthening of the foundations of colonial rule, new economic structures developed, bringing urban centres in their wake and the colonial language (in this case English) acquired a new importance since most clerical jobs in the colonial government or in merchant companies required secondary education and a knowledge of the colonial language. The English-educated classes chose formal education in English as a road towards earning a living under the colonial regime (Watson, 1982). Formal education ceased to be linked to the traditional values of society and new attitudes developed towards social mobility. The "Babu" culture" in Bengal or the ethos of the English-educated gentleman in the colonial administration or the Company offices gradually took root with the growing popularity of formal English education. Gradually, maktabs and koranic schools and traditional Hindu temple schools (Tols and Pathsalas), while not dying out completely, became less important to those who sought to ally themselves with the colonial power.

The gulf between traditional education and Western colonial education was immense. The assumptions and methods of teaching of the colonial school were set apart from the

indigenous culture with the result that those who attended them were gradually alienated from their indigenous culture and developed an anglicized identity. The English-educated classes had lost touch with their original roots, but were never accepted by the colonizers who regarded them as inferior. Memmi emphasized the permanent duality in the colonized caused by Western education (Memmi, 1965).

The introduction and establishment of English education led to the emergence of a pattern of two distinct types of education. There was indigenous education for the traditional elite in the form of traditional schools or preparation for religious rites in society (Watson, 1982). They were usually outside government control and the language of instruction was often unfamiliar to the colonial administrators who feared subversive propaganda through indigenous education. However, this type of indigenous education was severely eroded by the growing popularity of English education. The second type was English education in colonial schools run by the missionaries or in certain cases, by the colonial government. Most of these colonial schools, or missionary schools as often referred to in India, were usually fee-paying and in urban areas, benefitting those who lived in the towns or had access to them. There were just a few mission schools in rural areas.

These schools were modelled on the pattern of grammar schools or public schools in England, with an emphasis on academic and literary curricula often leading to

examinations. Their syllabi and courses were also often linked to the Cambridge Overseas Examinations Syndicate. In many cases, there were parallel schools in different vernaculars with no linkages with the English school system. Consequently, once the students from vernacular schools reached the higher secondary or university level, they were often unable to perform satisfactorily in English in competition with students from the English schools. Students educated in the English medium had an edge over others since both higher secondary and university education were in the English medium. This is true of the Indian school system in most cases even today.

The curriculum in higher education was humanistic in nature with emphasis on the liberal arts like Literature, History, Language and Mathematics. The content was usually European, stressing the benefits of European civilization. For instance, literature dealt with Shakespeare and Milton and history dealt with the Tudors and Stuarts. Even the indigenous culture was explained through the eyes of European teachers and interpreters. The curriculum had little contact with the environment, taught through the medium of a foreign language. There was very little emphasis on commercial, agricultural or scientific education. It would be interesting to look at the origins of technical education or the scientific beginnings in general education under the colonial rulers.

The single, most important factor of control over the

formal education structure was exercised through the language used as the medium of instruction. Macaulay's Minutes of 1835 dismissed vernacular languages in India as deficient and impolite, devoid of any literary or scientific knowledge and decidedly inferior to English (Naik and Nurallah, 1974, p. 134). Macaulay, a Law Member of the British Indian Administration, provided the confidence for a defined Anglicist policy in education through his Minutes which sharply criticized indigenous education.

The response to colonial education was varied. Among the indigenous elite, there were two defined responses. One group, like the Muslim or Hindu revivalists, re-emphasized indigenous education and established their own schools which emphasized traditional values. Other groups perceived English education as a suitable avenue for earning a living and became the English-educated classes in colonial India. Colonial education was not designed for the masses and never really reached them in a tangible way. The caste structure remained sufficiently unchanged, particularly in rural India, by the end of colonial rule.

The introduction of English education had lasting effects on the socio-economic developments of the colonized country. The creation of an English-educated elite across provincial and caste barriers was a direct result of English education. Ironically, this strata supplied the leadership for the Nationalist Movement in India in the 19th century. The value placed on formal linear school systems complete with the

appropriate administrative network throughout the Third World is a lasting legacy of colonial involvement in establishing structures of formal European education. The creation of a massive bureaucratic machinery throughout most of the Third World is also a lasting colonial educational legacy. The lower level personnel in the bureaucracy had a secondary education, whereas the higher level bureaucrats had university education. The power, position and prestige attached to the bureaucracy in the colonial era is still a tangible legacy in independent colonies. The emphasis on and fascination for "white collar jobs" emanates to a great extent from the prestige attached to the bureaucracy, which is set apart from the ordinary masses.

The most lasting legacy of colonial control is neo-colonialism, which will be discussed in an educational context according to the scope of this thesis. Neo-colonialism has been defined as "the persistence of foreign control despite seeming national independence" (Altbach and Kelly, 1978).

The most enduring legacy of colonialism, as mentioned earlier, is the formal school system. Western in concept and linear in application, left largely untouched in structure since the colonial era. However, far from being changed, school systems have expanded rapidly in order to cope with increasing demand. It has been easier to increase school enrolments than to initiate fundamental reform in directions, goals, values and attitudes. The fact that the formal English

education system was built for a different purpose - to create an English-educated class which would act as an intermediary between the colonial rulers and the colonized people - has been immaterial. Where reform has taken place, it has been marginal and unsystematic. National goals were established for formal educational expansion in the belief that it would lead to rapid modernization and structural changes. Only as costs and enrolments increased and economies did not progress as expected, has there begun some kind of requestioning of the present formal education system (Illich, 1971; Blaug, 1973). Formal education has not proved itself to be the panacea it was projected to be.

The formal school system, a lasting colonial legacy, and the qualifications it hands out is connected with the job-structure of Third World countries, thereby ensuring a constant demand for formal education, even if it only increases the numbers of the educated unemployed (Dore, 1976). The formal school systems have created an indigenous elite who have been the beneficiary of the system and are therefore unwilling to modify the existing system which has served their interests so well. Connected with it are the curricula and syllabi which promotes the kind of knowledge that serves the interests of the elite.

A discussion of theories of elites and the idea of status reconfirmation will follow in the next section.

An attempt will be made to look at diifferent sociological theories regarding the concept of elites. The views of Pareto, Mosca, C. Wright Mills, Marx and Weber will be drawn into the dicussion of elites to establish a clearer idea of the concept of Status Reconfirmation.

Section IV: Theories of Elites and the Idea of Status Reconfirmation

According to Bottomore, the word elite was used in the 17th century to describe commodities of particular excellence, and this was later used to describe superior social groups like crack military units or the higher ranks of the nobility. But the term was not used widely in social and political writings until the late 19th century or even perhaps the 1930's in Britain and America, when it was spread through the sociological theories of elites, in the writings of Vilfredo Pareto and Gaetano Mosca (Bottomore, 1967, p. 7).

Both Pareto and Mosca had certain common elements in their theories. Both held the view that in every society there is, and must be, a minority which rules over the rest of society. This minority, the political class or governing elite, is composed of those who hold certain key posts of political command and those who can directly influence political decisions (Bottomore, 1967, p. 12). This minority, referred to as the elite, goes through periodic changes in its memberships, through the recruitment of new individual members from the lower strata of society, occasionally by the incorporation of new social groups and sometimes by the complete replacement of the established elite by a counter elite, as occurs in revolutions. This phenomenon is described as the circulation of elites (Bottomore, 1967, p. 12).

Bottomore states that Pareto and Mosca diverge from this

point onwards. Pareto emphasizes the separation between the rulers and ruled in every society. Without making an exception of democratic political system, Pareto explains the circulation of elites in mainly psychological terms (Bottomore, 1967, p. 12).

On the other hand, Mosca is aware of the diversity of the elite, the higher stratum of the political class and of the interests of social forces, which are represented in it (Bottomore, 1967, p. 12). Mosca acknowledges a difference between modern democracies and other types of polity and states that there is some sort of interaction between the ruling minority and the majority, instead of a straightforward domination of the latter by the former. Mosca describes the circulation of elites psychologically as well as sociologically, in explaing the emergence of new elites or new elements in the elite in part by the rise of social forces which represent new interests, like technological or economic interests in the society (Bottomore, 1967, pp, 12-13).

Both Pareto and Mosca endeavoured to create a new science of politics, in direct opposition to Socialism and particularly, Marx's social analysis. Marx's theory states that every society, beyond the most primitive, has essentially two categories of people - a ruling class and one or more subject classes (Bottomore, 1967, p. 24). The dominant position of the ruling class can be explained "by its possession of the major instruments of economic production

but its political dominance is consolidated by the hold which it establishes over military force and over the production of ideas" (Bottomore, 1967, p. 24). There is perpetual conflict between the ruling and the subject class or classes, particularly in capitalist societies where a radical polarization of classes takes place, and this struggle will end with the victory of the working class, followed by the construction of a classless society (Bottomore, 1967, pp. 24-25).

C. Wright Mills displays the influence of Marx on the one hand and of Pareto and Mosca on the other, in his analysis of "The Power Elite" (Bottomore, 1967, p. 32). Mills substitutes the term "ruling class" with "power elite", since the former term implies that an economic class rules politically whereas the latter has a broader implication. Mills defines power elites in the same manner as Pareto, in terms of the means of power - as those who occupy positions of command. This could include the business elite, the managerial elite, the military elite, etc. (Bottomore, 1967, p. 33).

Max Weber was not in fundamental disagreement with Marx in his theory of social stratification. He acknowledged the importance of Marx's theory but extended it beyond economic power (class) to include prestige power (status) and political power (party). Moreover, economic power may be increased by prestige power and political power (Hagedorn, 1980, p. 59). Weber defines power as the ability to impose

one's will on another, and this imposition is possible through economic, prestige or political power. Therefore, "stratification is the result of social power which manifests itself in three ways: class, status, and party" Hagedorn, 1980, p. 59).

Neo-Weberians emphasize the control of the institution of schooling by elites who utilize it primarily to establish boundaries for status group membership. It serves to restrict credentials, making it more difficult for those of lesser status groups to achieve them (Hagedorn, 1980, p. 60). Besides, the educational requirements are continually being raised to restrict status group membership.

The concept of status in the idea of status reconfirmation is a synthesis of Marx's notion of class and Weber's concept of status. Since the word "status" here encompasses the economic, as well as the prestige and political aspects of power. The idea of 'status reconfirmation' in education is the attempt of the elite in a tri-dimensional sense, to restrict formal education and the dissemination of information through the use of a language, not available to the majority. This will help to make formal education the preserve of the elite, who will have exclusive access to certain types of literary, scientific and technical knowledge. The institution of schooling then serves only a limited number of people, who in turn use this institution to re-establish their power and reconfirm their status in society.

Chapter 3

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF EDUCATION IN INDIA

Section Ia: Ancient Indian Education

The noted historian, Romila Thapar, comments on the existence of formal education on a very limited scale in the period 200 B.C. and A.D. 300. Education was treated as the prerogative of the upper castes since the Brahmins had access to all knowledge and the Kshatriyas and Vaishyas were expected to be satisfied with limited knowledge. The possibility of education for the Sudra or the lowest caste existed but reference to it in relevant sources is extremely infrequent as is reference to the education of women (Thapar, p. 123).

Formal education emphasized grammar and the study of Vedic texts. Gradually, the education system, if it can be called that, was divided into two branches - the branch of theoretical knowledge confined to the Brahmins and those whom they wanted to teach and the branch of practical and technical knowledge which remained the domain of the professional castes from the Kshatriya or Vaishya Varnas ("Varna" here is used to denote the wide horizontal stratas of Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Sudras, while caste denotes the exact subgroup in each of these stratas or Varnas) (Thapar, 1966, p. 123).

The Buddhist monasteries, which provided formal education as well, managed to take a middle course. The Buddhist definition of formal education comprised grammar and medicine and the approach was generally less orthodox than that of the Brahmins (Thapar, 1966, p. 123).

In the following historical epoch between A.D. 300 and A.D. 700, formal education was available both in Brahmanical institutions and in Buddhist monasteries (Thapar, 1966, p. 154). Buddhist monasteries accepted students for ten years or so but those wishing to be ordained as monks remained for a longer period. Nalanda, near present day Patna in the state of Bihar, grew to be the foremost Buddhist monastery and educational centre, very much in the nature of a modern university, in the north. Excavations at Nalanda have unearthed a large area of well-constructed monasteries and temples, supported by the income from a number of villages acquired by the monastery over the years through donations. These estates covered the expenses of the university which was able to provide free education and residence for most of its students (Thapar, 1966, p. 154).

The concentration of formal education was on subjects like grammar, rhetoric, prose and verse composition, logic, metaphysics and medicine (Thapar, 1966, p. 154). The inclusion of medicine in this category was perhaps unfortunate, since it caused the subject to become too theoretical, preventing any real advance in medical knowledge (Thapar, 1966, pp. 154-155).

The more technical, specialized knowledge remained in the hands of the professional castes where the sons of craftsmen were trained in the hereditary trade. This kind of knowledge had little direct contact with Brahminical institutions and Buddhist monasteries (Thapar, 1966, p. 155). The study of mathematics was an exception, since it bridged these two types of education. Thapar comments that this was an intensely active period in mathematics; numerals had been in use for some time, along with the decimal system which was in regular use among Indian astronomers of the 5th century (Thapar, 1966, p. 155).

This particular epoch includes the era of the Gupta rulers who founded the Gupta empire. The Gupta period is often referred to as the classical age of ancient India. Prose and poetry in Sanskrit flourished on a lavish scale through royal patronage. It was the literature of the elite, the court, the aristocracy and those associated with such circles (Thapar, 1966, p. 156). The most outstanding writer of classical Sanskrit, Kālidasa, composed his works during the reign of the Gupta ruler, Chandragupta II or Chandragupta Vikramaditya. Kalidasa's most famous work, the play "Shakuntala", later came to be known in Europe through the impact it made on Goethe (Thapar, 1966, p. 156).

In addition to Sanskrit literature, literature in Prākrit also received patronage outside the court circle. Prakrit was the language more closely related to the speech of the times than classical Sanskrit. Prakrit literature,

written by the religious sect of Jains, tended to be more instructional in style, with a substantial religious content (Thapar, 1966, p. 157). Thapar adds that a notable feature in the Sanskrit plays of this period is that the characters of high social status speak Sanskrit and those of low social status and all women speak Prakrit, indicating the standing of Sanskrit and Prakrit in the social context (Thapar, 1966, p. 157).

The accounts of Chinese travellers, like Fa-Hien in the 5th century and Huien Tsang and I-Tsing in the 7th century, provide accounts of the working of the educational institutions which were centres of Buddhist learning in India (Mookerji, 1947/1973, pp. 492, 503, 535). However, both Hiuen Tsang and I-Tsing have noted the predominance of Brahmanical institutions over Buddhist centres of learning in the 7th century.

The influence of Aryan culture is evident in the evolution of educational institutions in the Pallava kingdom of southern India between the 6th century and the 10th century. In the early period, formal education was controlled by the Jains and Buddhists but was gradually superceded by Brahminism, mainly due to the royal patronage of Hinduism (Thapar, 1966, p. 180). The pattern was similar to northern India, in that Sanskrit was the language of formal education and the Brahmins had exclusive rights to this education over the other castes. There were institutions of higher learning as well, like Kanchi, which acquired fame equal to that of

Nalanda in northern India (Thapar, 1966, p. 181).

Section Ib: Muslim Education

The Muslim conquerors superceded the indigenous rulers and initiated the rule of the Turks, the Afghans and finally the Mughals, between the 13th century and the 18th century, until the advent of the British rulers.

During the first century of its history, Islam split into two sects divided on political as well as religious grounds, the Sunnis and the Shi'as. The Sunnis have predominated in India since the rulers of northern India, as well as most of their subjects were of the Sunni faith (Basham, 1975, p. 282). Centres of higher Sunnite learning known as Madrasas were founded in the 11th century and were designed to produce scholars known as "Ulamas" who would be qualified to run the government in accordance with orthodox Sunni ideas (Basham, 1975, p. 283). The curriculum in the Madrasas included the study of works of Kuranic exegis, other Muslim texts like the Hadis and Fiqh and some Sufi texts. The Madrasas and their teachers were mostly supported by state grants and stipends. These centres of learning provided free instruction and were open to all men of the Muslim faith. The Maktabs in the mosques provided basic literacy skills to all male children of the Muslim faith.

The system of formal Muslim education was more egalitarian in its structure within the male segment of Muslim society in comparison to the Brahminical institutions

of learning. However, the formal education of women was absent in the otherwise more egalitarian Islamic system of learning, as well as in Brahminical institutions.

Section II: Education in Pre-British India

Even writers sympathetic to the Indian side of modern Indian history have tended to dismiss the Indian educational past as something not worth considering; "an affair or vain repetitions and learning by rote". Percival Spear states that:

> They have, I believe, been misled by the utter simplicity of many of the arrangements of the indigenous system, which have been dismissed as beneath consideration in consequence. The West loves a sign, and when it finds no large buildings labelled "the Smith College" or "the Jones High School", it is apt to assume that there is no such thing as education in the land. Herein lies one of the most fruitful sources of misunderstanding of things Indian. The Western genius in material things may be described as constructive ingenuity, which leads to ceaseless elaboration and creates new wants by supplying them. The Indian genius in material things, on the other hand, consists in a constructive simplicity, which supplies the main wants of man in a way at once so simple and so effective that its existence is not even realized by those who are looking for the great and the mighty; it is only when compared with their Western equivalents that the extent of the achievement is clear, and those who complain that India has no material genius finds nothing because they are looking for complexity when they should be looking for simplicity. The same law holds good of some of the features of Indian education (Spear, 1971, pp. 175-176).

However, in beginning its political career in India, the East India Company had found a deeprooted system of indigenous education. There were Pathsalas and Tols (centres of Hindu learning) and Madrasas (centres of Sunnite higher learning), the seats of Sanskrit and Arabic learning, as well as elementary schools scattered all over the countryside (Basu, 1982, p. 28). According to Aparna

Basu, the majority of the Hindu pupils, in the schools of western, eastern and southern India, came from the three upper varnas of Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas (Basu, 1982, p. 29). Furthermore, in Bengal, there were no separate indigenous schools for Muslims. There were Muslim teachers and pupils in Bengali schools and Hindu pupils in Persian schools (Basu, 1982, p. 82). Persian was the court language as well as the official language in pre-British India.

It is difficult to estimate accurately the extent of formal education in pre-British schools since the necessary data is not available. However, in the 19th century, Adam estimated that a 100,000 indigenous elementary schools existed in Bengal in that period. On the whole, 7.8% of children of school-going age were being taught at school and of the adult male population about 5.5% could read and write (Basu, 1982, p. 31). Adam assessed that there were roughly 1,800 institutions of Hindu higher learning in the province of Bengal (Basu, 1982, p. 33).

According to Basu, the state of higher learning among Hindus and Muslims resembled that which existed in Europe before the invention of printing. The chief functions of traditional learning in pre-British India appear to have been "to conserve custom, to organize and sanction the existing political and economic order and to provide philosophical and religious enlightenment to the ruling classes" (Basu, 1982, p. 33).

Chapter 4

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Section I: The National Movement

Indian nationalism has been a subject ridden with class, caste, religious and regional variations. According to Stanley Wolpert, the emergence of national consciousness among Indians during the 19th century was mainly the "product of responses", both negative and positive to the consolidation of British power (Wolpert, 1977, p. 250). Though India had been conquered by a series of invaders, who were eventually assimilated into the Indian milieu, the British were the first territorial power to control their empire from a seat of power thousands of miles away, and showed no desire to become part of the Indian cultural complex. The influx of missionaries, the funding of English education, the opening of India to private trade, and the continuing process of British unification and modernization served only to intensify Indian perceptions of their indigenous differences - cultural, socio-economic and political - from the officials who administered the British Raj (Wolpert, 1977, p. 250).

Some Indians, like Ram Mohan Roy, initiated cultural societies to emphasize their traditional and cultural distinction through modern Western institutions. Others,

like certain princes in traditional states and Muslim Taluqdars of Oudh, were outraged by British treachery, along with the sepoys of the British Indian army. The Great Rebellion of 1857, mounted by these groups, intensified the bitterness and added racial distance to the existing deep gulf between the Indians and the ruling "white Christian Sahibs". Wolpert comments that:

> Nonetheless, it was from British examples of political consolidation, technological integration, administrative unity, and the sublimation of personal interest and identity to the impersonal laws and "higher" needs of national purpose that Indians learned their positive lessons in modern national consciousness. The British Raj thus provided whip as well as carrot to India's nascent nationalism, whose roots went as deep as the Indus civilization and beyond, but whose modern emergence was part of the searing aftermath of the War of 1857-58 (Wolpert, 1977, p. 251).

The clearest indicator of the ambivalent role played by British rule in the growth of Indian nationalism in the 19th century was that the leadership to this movement was supplied by English-educated Indians. The introduction of Western education, though doubtlessly geared towards producing a class of "BABUS" who would act as intermediaries between the British and their Indian subjects, at the same time brought a section of Indians into contact with new Western ideas and concepts of democracy and freedom which stimulated a new intellectual awakening. The creation of a new educated elite, cutting across provincial and caste barriers in British interests, boomeranged on the British since it was this section of Indian society which supplied the leadership in the nationalist movement that later swept

the county. The object of English education was not to create national consciousness but "to destroy it down to the very deep roots of its being" (Dutt, 1940, p. 271). However, the national movement did not merely arise because the English-educated elite were acquainted with the ideas of the French Revolution of Burke and Mill. Historical explanation often ascribe the rise of the national movement to such simplistic causes. According to R.P. Dutt:

> The Indian national movement arose from social conditions, from the conditions of imperialism and its system of exploitation and from the social and economic forces generated within Indian society under the conditions of that exploitation (Dutt, 1940, p. 241).

In 1953, the first successful cotton mill was started in Bombay. By 1900 there were 193 mills employing 161,000 workers (Dutt, 1940, p. 276). From the outset, the new cotton textile industry was financed and controlled mainly by Indians and consequently had to face various onstructions from the British Indian government. At the same time, the new Wnglish-educated middle-class was gradually taking shape. The beginnings, both in the field of capitalist industry and of the new English-educated intellegensia, were relatively small. Accordint to R.P. Dutt, the new class, which was appearing, found in the British bourgeosie its overshadowing competitor and obstacle to advancement and was therefore destined to become the first articulate expression and leadership of Indian national claims (Dutt, 1940, p. 276).

The Indian National Congress was founded in 1885. In its early phase, the middle-class English-educated elite represented by leaders like Surendranath Banajee and Gopal Krishna Gokhale were moderate in their challenge to British rule, which was conducted through appeals and petitions. There was yet no basic claim for self-government, rather a demand for a greater degree of Indian representation within the British Indian government. With the emergence of Bal Gangadhar Tilak in Maharashtra, Sri Aurobindo and Bepin Pal in Bengal and Lala Lajpat Rai in Punjab, the national movement acquired an Extremist character. Both Tilak and Sri Aurobindo were convinced that the British would never give India her freedom voluntarily and demanded "Swaraj" or independence in its total sense. However, the Extremist Movement petered out by the end of the first decade of this century, followed shortly by the death of Gokhale in 1915.

In the next phase of Indian nationalism, the Congress acquired a mass character under the leadership of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi or "Mahatma" Gandhi, as he was named by the great Indian poet Rabindranath Tagore. Mahatma Gandhi was able to give the national movement a populist character by drawing in the peasantry, for national politics had been restricted to the English-educated middle-classes until this time. His Non-Cooperation Movements in the 1920's and 1930's are well known, and followed by the Quit India Movement in 1941. Among Gandhi's lieutenants, Jawaharlal Nehru, a Harrow-

Cambridge educated Indian personality was a prominent figure in Congress politics since the late 1920's.

Muslim separatism, which began with the formation of the Muslim League in 1906, was gaining prominence under the leadership of Muhammad Ali Jinnah and reached its peak in the mid-1940's with the demand for a separate Muslim state. The Hindus had been more receptive to the West in the initial phase of British rule and had constituted the class of "BABUS" who had gained prominence as collaborators of British rule. The Muslims who had been unsympathetic to English education initially, fearing that India was ceasing to be Dar-al-Islam (Land of Islam), understandably felt threatened by the predominance of Hindus in the British era. Prominent Muslims like Sri Syed Ahmed Khan initiated the Aligarh Movement which contributed widely to the spread of English education among Muslim leaders. Besides, in the late 19th century, Muslims claimed that they had no place in the economic fabric of India and leaders like Jinnah advocated the protection of Muslim interests in the face of overwhelming Hindu prominence in the Raj.

Muslim separatism culminated in the formation of Pakistan on August 14, 1947, coinciding with the independence of India on August 15, 1947. Jawaharlal Nehru became the first Prime Minister of India and delivered his famous speech on the eve of independence:

> Long years ago we made a tryst with destiny, and now the time comes when we shall redeem our pledge, not wholly or in full measure, but very substantially.

> At the stroke of the midnight hour, when the world sleeps, India will awake to life and freedom. A moment comes, which comes but rarely in history, when we slip out from the old to the new, when an age ends, and when the soul of a nation, long suppressed finds utterance. It is fitting that at this solemn moment we take the pledge of dedication to the service of India and her people and to the still larger cause of humanity (Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru, New Delhi: Orient Longman, 1972).

The partition of 1947 served to weaken and divide India, fomented communal antagonism throughout both countries and encouraged mutual antagonism between the governments of India and Pakistan. When the Dominion of Pakistan was established in 1947 by the Mountbatten Award, the partition of India which it carried out also involved the partition of the Punjab and Bengal. The six provinces designated to constitute Pakistan with their present boundaries included a total population of 107 million. Of these, Muslims constituted 59 million or 55% and the non-Muslims 48 million or 45%. Thus, the non-Muslims would constitute nearly half of the Muslim state, while 30 million or nearly two-fifths of the Muslims in India, particularly in the provinces other than the ones partitioned to form Pakistan, would remain outside the new Muslim state. This illustrates the obvious limitations of any attempt to settle the communal question of the closely intermingled Hindu-Muslim population on an arbitrary territorial basis (Dutt, 1955, p. 242). This arbitrary solution gave rise to internal tensions and murderous conflicts and the mass migration of millions of refugees (Dutt, 1955, p. 243). Both India and Pakistan had to make elaborate plans about the ways of

absorbing these incoming refugees in their economy. The refugee problem in West Bengal was really acute and persists until the present time, causing severe damage to the faltering economy of the state.

Apart from territorial divisions, the partition created numerous economic problems. Railways, highways and irrigation systems were severed. The richest jute and cotton-growing areas went to Pakistan but the great majority of the jute and cotton mills, as well as coal and iron deposits, remained in India. Government assets, ranging from the materials of war and railroad rolling stock down to rubber bands and stationery had to be divided. Even prisoners and war debts were divided at the time of partition (McLane, 1970, p. 41). The division of Kashmir still remains unsettled. Both India and Pakistan claimed the province of Kashmir in the Himalayas. Pakistan claimed Kashmir on the grounds that four-fifths of its population is Muslim, while India retained the larger and richer part of Kashmir on the grounds that its Hindu ruler, Maharaja Hari Singh, legally chose to join India. Subsequently, in 1971, the Bengalis in East Pakistan overthrew the Pakistan regime and formed the national state of Bangladesh. The formation of Bangladesh weakened Pakistan strategically and created another nation on the Indian subcontinent.

India become a republic on January 26, 1950, with the completion of her new Constitution. According to Percival Spear: "the reasons for this were emotional; India wanted

to feel independent as well as to be so in fact and law" (Spear, 1973, p. 243).

Spear further suggests that by about 1950, India had finished one chapter in her long history and opened another. The British had gone, the Republic of India had been established under the Prime Ministership of Nehru, and "outstanding questions left over from the past had been dealt with" (Spear, 1973, p. 244).

Since this thesis aims to deal specifically with the history of formal education in India, it will be interesting to examine if India had indeed finished a chapter in her history of formal education when the captains and kings had departed, or whether India continued the same structure of English education in an expanded form, under new-fangled policies of Education, with deep divisions between English-educated, Vernacular-educated and totally illerate Indians.

Section II: Economic Impact of British Rule

During her long and often turbulent history, India had been subjected to various foreign invasions and incursions. Most of these invasions were peripheral and had no impact on the real centres of Indian polity. Indian history can be seen as an endless series of invasions followed by periods during which the invaders were assimilated into the vast cultural complex they encountered. The process of assimilation was not always peaceful and the invaders, quite often, left a lasting impression upon the life of the subcontinent. But nevertheless, they ended by becoming an integral part of the Indian scene and gradually lost touch with their foreign roots. The Mughals, who represented the acme of Islamic power in India, were thoroughly Indianized. Despite their foreign origins and their cultural links with Iran and the Middle-East, they never looked upon themselves as outsiders and became a part of India.

With the advent of the British, the situation was very different. For the first time, India was subjected to the rule of a people who were not only completely alien, but whose seat of power was thousands of miles away and who showed no inclination to be assimilated into the Indian cultural complex. Thus, the British impact on India was deep, many-sided and abiding and despite British withdrawal in 1947, continues to exercise a very important influence

even today.

The economic policies followed by the British led to the rapid transformation of India's economy into a colonial economy whose nature and structure were determined by the needs of the British economy.* In this respect the British conquest differed from all previous foreign conquests. The previous conquerors had overthrown Indian political powers but had gradually become a part of Indian life, political as well as economic. The peasant, the artisan, and the trader had continued to lead the same type of existence as before. The basic economic pattern, that of the self-sufficient village economy, had been perpetuated. Change of rulers had merely meant change in the personnel of those who appropriate the peasant's surplus. But the British conquerors were entirely different. They totally disrupted the traditional structure of the Indian economy. Moreover, they never became an integral part of Indian life, always remaining foreigners in the land, exploiting Indian resources and carrying away India's wealth as tribute. The

---

*This section on the economic impact of British rule is based on the analytical framework of historians like R.P. Dutt and Bipan Chandra. Their works include:

a) Dutt, R.P. India Today and Tomorrow, People's Publishing House, Ltd., Delhi, 1955.
b) Chandra, Bipan. The Rise and Growth of Economic Nationalism in India. People's Publishing House, New Delhi, 1966.
c) Chandra, Bipan. Modern India. NCERT, New Delhi, 1971.
d) Chandra, Bipan. Reinterpretation of Nineteenth Century Indian Economic History, IESHR, Vol. V, No. 1, March, 1968.

Instead of adding individual footnotes, I claim general indebtedness for this section.

results of this subordination of the Indian economy to the interests of British trade were many and varied.

There was a sudden and quick collapse of urban handicrafts caused largely by competition with the cheaper imported goods from Britain. The cotton weaving and spinning industries were the worst hit. Silk and woollen textiles, iron, pottery, glass, paper, tanning and dyeing industries suffered a similar plight. The high import duties and other restrictions imposed on the import of Indian goods into Britain and Europe during the 18th and 19th centuries, combined with the development of modern manufacturing industries in Britain, led to the virtual closing of the European markets to Indian manufacturers after 1820. The gradual disappearance of Indian rulers and their courts who were the main customers of town industries also was a big blow to these industries. The ruin of Indian handicrafts was reflected in the economic ruin of towns like Murshidabad and cities like Surat which were famous for their manufactures. The tragedy was heightened by the fact that the decay of the traditional industries was not accompanied by the growth of modern machine industries as was the case in Britain and Europe. As a result, the ruined handicraftsmen and artisans failed to find alternative employment. The only choice left to them was to crowd into agriculture which added to the general pressure on land, upsetting the equilibrium in rural sections and contributing to the destruction of the self-sufficient village economy. In fact, India now became an

agricultural colony of manufacturing Britain which needed it as a source of raw materials for its industries and as a market for its manufactured goods.

The peasant was also progressively impoverished under British rule.* In spite of the fact that he was now free of internal wars, his material condition deteriorated and he steadily sank into poverty. The land revenue demand was high in itself and this was made worse by the fact that the peasant got little economic return for it, since the government spent very little on improving agriculture. Whenever the peasant failed to pay land revenue, the government or the zamindar put his land up for sale to collect the arrears of revenue. But in most cases, the peasant himself took this step and sold part of his land. In either case, he lost his land. The inability to pay revenue drove the peasant to borrow money at higher rates of interest from the money-lender. By the end of the 19th century, the money-lender had become a major curse of the countryside and an important cause of the growing poverty of the rural areas. The loss of land and the overcrowding of land caused by de-industrialization and lack of modern industry compelled the landless peasants and ruined artisans and handicraftsmen to become either tenants of the

---

*Under the Permanent settlement of 1793 in Bengal, the Zamindari system operated there. The Ryotwari system operated in South India. In the former, the peasants paid taxes directly to the government. However, in both the settlements, the peasants were oppressed in turn by the Zamindar and the government.

money-lender and zamindars or agricultural labourers at starvation wages. As more and more land passed into the hands of money-lenders, merchants and rich peasants, a class of new landlords arose in the rural areas. This feature was observed in the Ryotwari settlement areas. A remarkable feature of this new landlordism was the growth of sub-infeudation or intermediaries. The zamindars and the new landlords found it convenient to sublet their right to collect rent to willing people on profitable terms. But as rents increased, subleasers of land in their turn sublet their rights in land. Thus, by a chain process, a large number of rent-receiving intermediaries between the actual cultivation and the government sprang up. An extremely harmful consequence of the rise and growth of zamindars and landlords was the political role they played during India's struggle for independence. Along with the princes of protected states, they became the chief political supporters of the British and opposed the rising national movement. Realizing that they owed their existence to British rule, they tried hard to maintain and perpetuate it. As a result of overcrowding of agriculture, excessive land revenue demand, growth of landlordism, increasing indebtedness and the growing impoverishment of the cultivators, Indian agriculture began to stagnate and deteriorate, resulting in extremely low yields per acre. Besides, due to inadequate technology and proper irrigation, the peasants were entirely dependent on the monsoons, which often failed them. British economic

exploitation, the decay of indigenous industries, the failure of modern industries to replace them, high taxation, the drain of wealth to Britain and a backward agrarian structure leading to the stagnation of agriculture and the exploitation of poor peasants by the zamindars, landlords, princes, money-lenders, merchants and the state, reduced the Indian people to extreme poverty. The poverty of the people found its culmination in a series of famines which ravaged all parts of India during the later period of British rule.

An important development in the latter half of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century was the establishment of large-scale machine-based industries. These industries included cotton textile mills, coal mining, jute, timber mills, leather tanneries, woollen textiles, paper, sugar, rice and flour mills, cement, glass, iron and steel works and such mineral industries as salt, mica and salt-petre. But these industries had a very stunted growth since most of the modern Indian industries were owned or controlled by British capital. The Indians had some investments only in the cotton textiles and sugar industries. British enterprise in India also took advantage of its close connection with British suppliers of machinery and equipment, shipping, insurance companies, marketing agencies, government officials, to maintain its dominant position in Indian economic life. Moreover, the government followed a conscious policy of favoring foreign capital as against attempts to invest Indian capital. The British government had undertaken major

schemes of public works like railways in order to facilitate British enterprise and commerce in India (Harnetty, 1972, p. 58). The railway policy of the government also discriminated against Indian enterprise; railway freight rates encouraged foreign imports at the cost of trade in domestic products. It was more costly to distribute Indian goods than to distribute imported goods. The complete absence of heavy industries like machines, chemicals and metallurgy proved a serious weakness of Indian industrial effort and detrimental to the rapid and independent development of industries in India. India was also deficieint in her development of electric power.

Apart from machine-based industries, the 19th century also witnessed the growth of plantation industries such as indigo, tea and coffee. They were almost exclusively European in ownership. Indigo was used as a dye in textile manufacture. Indigo plantations were introduced in India at the end of the 18th century and flourished in Bengal and Bihar. Indigo planters were widely known for their oppression of the peasants who were compelled by them to cultivate indigo. This oppression was vividly portrayed by the famous Bengali writer, Dinabandhu Mitra, in his play Neel Darpan in 1860. The invention of a synthetic dye was a big blow to the indigo industry which gradually declined. The plantations and other foreign-owned industries were hardly of much advantage to the Indian people. Indians were mainly employed as unskilled labour and conditions of near

slavery prevailed in the plantations. The profits were drained out of the country and most of the technical staff was foreign. Besides, the government deliberately discouraged higher technical education and did not make adequate arrangements for technical education. The industrial development in India was not uniform and unequal regional economic development led to wide regional disparities in income and affected the level of national integration. The legacy of this problem persists even today. Moreover, Indian enterprise encountered opposition from the British Indian government. British manufacturers looked upon Indian textile and other industries as their rivals and applied pressure on the government to protect Indian markets for British exports. There was obviously a glaring contradiction between British actions and the free-trade principles which the British claimed to honour. The principles of laissez faire, essentially a myth, were manipulated in the era of free trade to uphold, protect and promote British interests (Harnetty, 1972, p. 126). On the whole, industrial progress in India was exceedingly slow and painful. In terms of production, as well as employment, the modern industrial development of India was nominal compared with the economic development of other countries or with India's economic needs. It did not even compensate for the displacement of the indigenous handicrafts; it had little effect on the problems of poverty and overcrowding of land.

India's economic backwardness and poverty were man-made.

The natural resources of India were abundant and capable of yielding, if properly utilized and developed, a high degree of prosperity. But, as a result of foreign rule and exploitation, and of a backward agrarian and industrial economic structure, India presented the paradox of poor people living in a rich country (Chandra, 1971, p. 195). It is against this background of the real potential wealth of India and the failure to develop it, that the terrible poverty of the Indian population stands out with ominous significance.

Section IIIa: Post Independence Era: Plans and Strategies

Jawaharlal Nehru remained the Prime Minister of India between 1947-1964. Spear describes Nehru as:

> the son of a brilliant father in the select circle of major leaders during the twenties and he came from the heartland of northern India and core of the modern national movement, the middle Ganges Valley. He was successively the disciple; favoured son, and leiutenant of Gandhi, the patron saint of the movement, so that much of the veneration attached to the Mahatma descended to him. He was the idol of the younger left wing Congressmen, for many years. . . . He carried with him something of the magic aura of the Mahatma for the masses and all the prestige of a forward-looking nationalist for the classes (Spear, 1983, pp. 244-245).

Nehru directed India on the path of agreement between the opposing ideologies of capitalism on the one hand and communism on the other. It was "his experimental framework" that encouraged a creative approach towards solving problems of "production and distribution", combining goals of "growth and reduction of disparities", while avoiding the "violence and regimentation of revolutionary change" (Frankel, 1978, p. 3). Under Nehru's leadership, the commitment to democratic social transformation was the cornerstone of India's total development strategy and formed the basis of national planning after the creation of the National Planning Commission in 1950.

According to Frankel, the Nehru years witnessed the "direct result of Gandhian socialist collaboration" in the development strategy of India" (Frankel, 1978, p. 15). This

fortuitous conjunction of traditional Hindu values, as reinterpreted by Mahatma Gandhi, and "modern" ethical precepts in Marxism, provide an "unexpected basis" for collaboration between the religiously-oriented, traditional Gandhian wing of Congress and the secular-minded modernist intelligentsia. India's basic approach to planning in the post-independence period was derived from the "Gandhian-Socialist collaboration" (Frankel, 1978, p. 15).

The First Five Year Plan in 1951 laid emphasis on providing an infrastructure for rapid industrial expansion. However, in reality, of the total public funds expended in the First Plan, nearly two-thirds or 65% went simply to restoring India's prewar consumer goods production capability, repairing communication and attempting to raise agricultural yields. Industry and mining received only 7.6% of the total capital outlay and power, about 11% (Wolpert, 1971, p. 361). Besides, import of food was to remain a major consideration for the Indian government in the next two decades.

The Second Five Year Plan (1956-1961) sought to promote the kind of development which should lead to the establishment of a socialistic pattern of society in India. It stressed that the benefits of economic development should be spread to the relatively less privileged sections of society, and that there should be a progressive reduction in the concentration of incomes, wealth and economic power (India, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. India: A

Reference Journal, 1973, p. 184, quoted in Kattalal, J., Education in India's Five Year Plans: A Historical Review (1951-76) and Critical Appraisal, Canadian and International Education, Vol. 7, No. 1, June, 1978, p. 10). The Second Plan placed a major emphasis on many industries. Industry and mining received about 20% of the Second Plan's funding. India made large strides in the production of iron-ore, and in the manufacturing of a wide range of electrical goods and machine tools. Her power capacity doubled and cotton textiles remained the leading industry in the country (Wolpert, 1977, p. 362).

Nehru had envisaged a modernized India, competing with the rest of the world and the emphasis on heavy industries and the organized sector was in keeping with his visions of India. By the Third Five Year Plan (1961-1966), India rose to the rank of the world's tenth most industrially advanced nation (Wolpert, 1977, p. 363). The Third Plan was formulated emphasizing the long-term objectives for the next 15 years. Its immediate aims were to secure an increase in the national income of over 5% per year and ensure, at the same time, a pattern of investment which could sustain this rate of growth during subsequent plan periods. There would be an attempt to achieve self-sufficiency in foodgrains and increase agricultural production to meet the requirements of industry and exports. There was a need to expand basic industries like steel, chemicals, fuel and power and establish machine-building capacity, so that the requirements

of further industrialization could be met within a period of 10 years or so, mainly from the country's own resources. The Plan would make efforts to utilize to the fullest possible extent the manpower resources of the country and ensure a potential expansion in employment opportunities. Finally, the Plan would persevere to establish progressively greater equality of opportunity and try to bring about reduction in disparities of income and wealth and a more even distribution of economic power (Kattackal, 1978, p. 11).

Nehru did not survive to see the Fourth Plan and India's second Prime Minister, Lal Bahadur Shastri, came to power in 1964, shortly after Nehru's death. Shastri was the antithesis of Nehru, since he had not been educated in England, had spent little time abroad, had an unassertive manner and was more comfortable in his mother-tongue, Hindi. Despite the deaths of both Gandhi and Nehru, the ruling Congress party, under Shastri and later under Indira Gandhi, remained committed to the Gandhian-Socialist strategy of national development. The inherent contradictions of this strategy are apparent. Since industrialization and social modernization were hardly the same as hand-spinning and rural uplift, India, by the mid-60's, had acquired "a dual personality, its industrialized urban life co-existing with and dependent upon the cheap labour of the pre-electrified rural society that still covered the subcontinent" (Wolpert, 1977, p. 376).

After considerable internal strife within the Congress

party over succession and leadership, Indira Gandhi was elected Prime Minister of India in 1967 and promised to continue the policies established by Nehru and Shastri (Wolpert, 1977, p. 385). The Fourth Five Year Plan (1969 to 1974) aimed at hastening the tempo of development in conditions of stability. It sought to introduce safeguards against the fluctuation of agricultural production as well as the uncertainties of foreign aid. It would aim to raise the standard of living of the people through social programs also designed to promote equality and social justice. The Plan would attempt to lay special emphasis on improving the condition of the less privileged and weaker sections of the Indian society, especially through the provision of employment and education (Kattackal, 1978, p. 13).

The Fifth Five Year Plan (1974-1979) initiated under the Prime Ministership of Indira Gandhi, named "removal of poverty" and "attainment of self-reliance" as its dual objective. The famous slogan of "Garibi Hatao" or eradicate poverty was coined by the Congress party and was promoted through the Fifth Plan. The Plan would aim to raise the nutrition standards of the lowest 30% of the population. Attempts would be made to expand employment opportunities for the weaker sections, along with the accelerated growth of industrial and agricultural output. A National Program to meet the minimum needs of the poorest section would be formulated (Kattackal, 1978, p. 16).

Mrs. Gandhi declared a national emergency in 1975 on the grounds of an alleged threat to national security and in 1977, after the emergency was lifted, she was defeated in the national elections along with her ruling Congress Party. The Janata Party swept to power in 1977 under the Prime Ministership of Morarji Desai. The Janata Party remained in office until 1980 when Mrs. Gandhi was returned to power by a landslide victory. Mrs. Gandhi remained at the helm of Indian affairs until her death in October, 1984. Rajiv Gandhi, "her son and heir", was elected President of the Congress (I) Party which returned to power in the recent Indian elections with a landslide victory. Gandhi was sworn in as Prime Minister in January, 1985.

It is unlikely that there will be a major reversal in the development process in India under the new Prime Minister. The sixth Five Year Plan ended in March, 1985 and the seventh Five Year Plan began on April 1, 1985. The priorities remain much the same and there are no indications of major structural changes in the economic, social or educational fabric of India.

Section IIIb: The Real Indian Experience

Tragically enough, Indian poverty still persists on a mass scale 37 years after independence. After the attainment of independence, there was no major redistribution of power between formerly oppressing and oppressed classes. Weisskopf states that:

> there was some shift of power among elites: indigenous businessmen and professionals gained at the expense of their foreign counterparts, and some of the more enterprising large landholders gained at the expense of traditional rural potentates and absentee landlords most closely linked to the British. India's parliamentary democratic system has enabled certain intermediate groups - such as moderately well-to-do peasants and organized urban workers - to have some voice in national affairs, but the vast majority of poor peasants, landless labourers, and unorganized urban dwellers remain as powerless as before (Weisskopf, 1975, p. 363).

The capacity of the national political leadership for confident government performance is limited by certain important political and institutional factors. The system of parliamentary democracy gives certain interest groups the freedom to oppose various aspects of government policy, causing constraints in the performance and role of the central government. Besides, this system is unable to equalize the distribution of political power (Weisskopf, 1975, p. 363). The federal structure of the Indian government, partly due to India's "ethnological heterogeneity", provides the state government with critical responsibilities, causing a reduction in the power of the central government and the national political leadership (Weisskopf, 1985, p. 363). The protection afforded by the Indian Constitution to private property rights, reflecting the interests of powerful properties classes, imposed restrictions on the power of the state to implement institutional changes affecting private property. The central government remained weak

and its restricted capacity to mobilize the economic surplus, together with the continued strength of private capital, led to a considerable role for foreigners in India's development (Weisskopf, 1975, pp. 363-364).

> Today, India is a predominantly agrarian country, with 4/5 of its over 600 million people (745 million now) living in villages where most of them depend on land for their livelihood (Hiro, 1976, p. 19).

Agriculture is unevenly developed in India. Most of the landholdings in the countryside are really fragmented and the peasants cultivate the lands by primitive methods like the use of plough, drawn by bulls. There are areas where shift cultivation is utilized. High quality seeds and proper fertilizers are not employed, leading to staggeringly low yields per acre. Besides, non-mechanized farming is not as efficient and is unable to mass-produce grains. There are other areas also relatively small in Punjab and Haryana, where tractors, chemical fertilizers, high-yield varieties of seed and wage labour are commonplace. Various land reform legislations since the early 1950s have replaced the class of zamindars or jagirdars (the traditional, often absentee landlords) by a class of rich peasants who directly participate in farm management, and a much larger class of middle peasants. The class of middle peasants hire the services of the poor peasants and the landless in the village (Hiro, 1976, p. 4). The Land Ceiling Act in the post-independence period restricted land ownership in rural India to a few acres. The Tenancy Act in the same period emphasized the rights of the peasants and insisted on the security and the

protection of the peasantry. Unfortunately, neither of these two acts were really effective since the majority of the peasantry are still very insecure and poor and the richer peasants own much more land than the Land Ceiling Act would allow. The money-lender is still a phenomenon in the rural areas, though he operates on a strictly private basis. The peasants are about as impoverished as they were a generation ago, dependent on an uncertain monsoon, usually deep in debt, perpetually in the clutches of an exacting money-lender. The planned changes promised by the Indian government in the villages have so far been more superficial than had been hoped (Lamb, 1975, p. 175).

The urban centres like Bombay, Calcutta and Madras have deteriorated due to continued lag in housing, sanitation, water supply and public transport (especially Calcutta) with respect to a rising population. The inflow of landless and poor peasants from the countryside, who are attracted by the glamour of big cities, contribute to the rising population of the large urban centres (Hiro, 1976, p. 19). The number and size of slums keep increasing every year. Perhaps a reason for the attitude of aloof disdainful superiority of certain upper class Indians who have experienced a better life may be their deep emotional need to dissociate themselves from such appalling misery. As pointed out earlier, the poor are basically in the same condition they were a generation ago, while the rich have been growing richer, evident from the rising demand in the

city of smuggled luxury goods (by Indian standards) and luxury housing. The rich make exhorbitant profits by involving themselves directly or indirectly in financing such operations as smuggling, foreign currency exchange racket, buying and selling luxury housing and office accommodation, etc. (Hiro, 1976, p. 26).

Indian industry has not progressed sufficiently to absorb the growing Indian population. The fast rising Indian population remains a perpetual problem for the faltering Indian economy. The problem of the educated unemployed, largely urban-based, is a significant one in India. However, this educated or literate vocal unemployed section attracts much more attention than the far bigger but non-vocal disorganized manpower surplus in rural areas.

Corruption in India was not unknown in the past. But the corruption on the scale on which it flourishes today is incredible. It is boosted by the most powerful, within the government and outside it and there is usually no ceiling on it. Corruption in industrialization, tied with the country's progress in industrialization, has added a new ominous dimension to the national economy while the corruption in government departments as land revenue, customs, excise, police, public works has become more widespread. Corruption largely is no longer considered morally stigmatizing. Those who give bribes and those who receive them do so without any moreal qualms. If anybody does get caught, which is rare indeed, the social and political elite are too ready to

forgive them, being quite aware of their own personal limitations (Hiro, p. 39).

The tragedy of India's extreme poverty lies in the fact that there is enormous wealth in India, concentrated in a few industrial families like the Tatas and Birlas. It is possible to ignore this fact if the severe poverty of India is emphasized. It is virtually of no use to keep looking back at the glorious Indian heritage, the days of Indus Valley Civilization, the Golden Age of the Gupta Kings. India cannot live and survive in her glorious past any longer. Concrete present realities like industrial, urban, rural and economic under development, massive unemployment, incredible poverty have to be faced. Mrs. Gandhi's slogans of 'Garibi Hatao'* in the past have now to be turned into at least a remote reality. Democracy is really commendable but along with freedom of speech, action, etc., Indians desperately need the freedom to survive.

---

*An election slogan in Hindi, coined by Mrs. Gandhi, in the 1971 Indian elections, which means remove poverty.

Chapter 5

COLONIAL EDUCATION

Section I: Education as Cultural Imperialism in Colonial British India

Britain's educational policies in India were an effective way of controlling the subcontinent and perpetuating Indian economic dependence on her colonizer. In the early era of British rule, education was used to pacify the Indians who were allowed to set up Oriental colleges under British patronage, aided by Orientalists like Warren Hastings. However, the early days were characterized by mercantile activity and the traders were intent on maximizing their profits without jeopardizing their toe-hold on India. According to Martin Carnoy, the Indian example illustrates effectively how changes in the educational system were designed according to the perceived needs of the colonizer (Carnoy, 1974, p. 183). British government became susceptible to industrial pressure groups, particularly the Lancashire cotton manufacturers' concerted effort to change India's role in relation to the metropole. This alteration in the pattern of economic interaction was accompanied by a reconstructed education system which would aid Indians in becoming better consumers of British goods. The change in the system of education came about after a great deal of

controversy between the Orientalists and Anglicists in the British Indian administration. The Anglicist policy emerged victorious and was put into practice. There was an initial period of opposition to English education. However, the British Indian administration decided to recruit lower-level administrative personnel in the government from English-educated Indians, thereby creating a demand and an incentive for English education.

British rule gradually destroyed the traditional structure and replaced it with "a European-oriented hierarchy" (Carnoy, 1974, p. 83). In order to do this, the British had to bring about a cultural transformation among the Indian population to create a class of Indians who were loyal to the British Crown and would serve as links between the Raj and the majority of unassimilated Indians. For the British, "progress" in India was synonymous with British control of Indian resources. English education was designed to achieve this goal.

The Beginnings of Western Education

In the early era of British involvement in India, the missionaries arrived in the wake of the Company traders. The Company was competing ferociously with the Portuguese, the Dutch and the French to gain trading concessions from the Mughals and were starting to make some headway. At this particular juncture, the missionaries, under the military protection of the Company, could establish a closer contact

with the people and the geographical area and provide essential information about the culture, social structure, economic production and trading modes of the people (Carnoy, 1974, p. 88). The missionaries attempted to learn local languages in order to communicate directly with the people and started printing presses which began putting forward translations of the Bible. The commercial enterprise of the Company was greatly facilitated by the introduction of Western perspectives through missionary activity. The missionaries were based in urban areas, serving the English community as well as the indigenous elites by providing English education and religious activity. In the rural areas, they undertook the task of converting the indigenous people to Christianity. The major emphasis of missionary activity was on social reform in the area of traditional caste system and there was a concerted effort to shed some light on the indigenous people in order to "civilize" India (Carnoy, 1974, p. 89).

Establishment of Western Education

Until 1770, the Company was actively assisting the missionaries with finance and protection. However, with the establishment of the East India Company as a political power, the administration of the Company was openly discouraging missionaries in their mission of social modernization since it offended the indigenous elites and could lead to the loss of valuable co-operation from them. The East India Company

did everything in its power to keep missionaries out of its territory in Bengal. They introduced the policy of Orientalism to placate and strengthen the traditional elite. However, despite these official measures, missionaries like Carey, Marshman and Ward set up a Baptist mission in Serampore, Bengal and established a printing press where Bibles were printed in various dialects, along with textbooks for schools and colleges. Later, the Serampore College for Boys was founded and in 1818 the first English Language daily, "Friend of India" was started. The "Friend of India" proved to be quite persuasive, providing moral justifications for government policy and was often quoted in the local press. Carnoy provides an interesting analysis in connection with the Company's opposition to missionary work and its advocacy of Orientalism. According to Carnoy, it was more than Christianity that was in question. English, or Western education itself, was opposed by the Company administrators (Carnoy, 1974, p. 93).

In the early era of British rule, there were no efforts towards the development of markets or new forms of production or any major economic transformations in rural India. Utilizing their military resources and their trade, the Company had gained control of a new territory. However, they had yet to gain the co-operation of the indigenous elite and religious leaders or establish any communication with the local people through language or law. Therefore, English education and Western reform appeared like an

unnecessarily hostile and forceful task (Carnoy, 1974, p. 92). Carnoy makes another pertinent observation here, remarking that ultimately, English education was what the colonialists would like but for the time being, they were exercising restraint in their dealings, depending on their superior military strength as a last resort (Carnoy, 1974, p. 92).

Orientalism

Orientalist policy was designed to strengthen and placate the traditional indigenous elite in areas under British control and thereby help to perpetuate British power at a point when it was still weak. Education catered to native elites in their own language and mainly under their direction. Orientalist policy truly began with Warren Hastings in 1772 when he was appointed the governor of Bengal and attempted to establish a firmly entrenched government. In two years, Warren Hastings was declared the first governor-general of the East India Company's territory in India. His major task involved the establishment of a Supreme Court in Calcutta and the codification of Indian law for British administrative use. Hastings attempted to court Hindu and Muslim elites by promising complete non-interference in their lives and simultaneously enlisting their co-operation to bolster the foundations of British rule in India. Many of these indigenous elites became landlords in this era and formed a class of traditional

(Comprador/Bourgeoisie) landed aristocracy that actively co-operated with the British until the middle of the 20th century. Missionaries were banned from British territory at this time (Carnoy, 1976, p. 96). Hastings founded the Calcutta Madrasah in 1780 and succeeded in pacifying the Muslim community. Though initially started with his own private capital, Hastings managed to acquire a grant from the Company for the Madrasah, making it the first state-supported school in India. The Benaras Sanskrit College was founded soon after this in 1791.

Monstuart Elphinstone, the governor of the Bombay Presidency, initiated an Orientalist policy in education with the first governmental act. Elphinstone founded a Hindu college at Pune in the Bombay Presidency in 1820.

In 1784, Pitt passed the India Act which attempted to regulate the role of the East India Company in Indian affairs. A general dissatisfaction with the Company's conduct, along with the impeachment of Warren Hastings in 1785, led to a public outcry which gave the missionaries a breathing space and eventually the protection they needed to operate in India. This in turn provided the incentive to educational activities. The Fort William College was founded in 1800, despite loud protests from the Court of Directors, and was used to provide training for Europeans and Company officials in Indian languages, history and law. Wilberforce's efforts to include an education clause in the Charter of 1792 had failed earlier but with the new

Charter Act of 1813, an education clause was introduced with directions to the Company to set aside a minimum of one lakh rupees annually for Indian education. Besides this, missionaries were allowed to function freely throughout the territories. The Charter of 1813 also abolished the Company's trading monopoly, allowing British industrialists free access to the Indian market. However, none of the money set aside by this educational provision in the Act of 1813 was spent on furthering education until 1820 (Carnoy, 1974, p. 96).

The entrance of the colonial government into indigenous education took place at the end of a protracted struggle. Charles Grant, a member of the Clapham sect, who later became a company director (1797-1818), member of Parliament (1802-1818) and founder of the Church Missionary Society in 1799, had stated as early as 1792 that education should be utilized to uplift the morals of the local people. Grant had emphasized a system of education in the English language, thereby preceding Macaulay by 43 years (Carnoy, 1974, p. 97). Carnoy comments that Grant could comprehend both the cultural and the economic aspects of imperialism, especially when he stated that "to introduce the language of the conquerors seems to be an obvious means of assimilating a conquered people to them" (Carnoy, 1974, p. 97). Grant's ideas provided a clear picture of the basic logic of subsequent events. However, educational expenditures

remained very small until the 20th century.

> By 1847, there were less than 10,000 students enrolled in government-sponsored English-speaking schools: in 1845 there were 2,186 students in the Northwest provinces; 7,036 in all (36) institutions of Bengal Assam and Orissa; 8,138 in Bombay; and 156 in Madras. Not all of these were English-speaking. There were also 92 English schools run by missionaries with 13,000 students (Carnoy, 1974, p. 98).

The Orientalist policy continued in a modified form after 1813, when the Anglo-Indian Vedyalaya College was founded in Calcutta in 1816, followed by a Sanskrit College in 1823 and a college in Agra in the same year. However, the British soon took over these colleges and introduced English classes as well as European subjects. In Bombay, the governor, Elphinstone, followed an Orientalist policy in the early years of British power, mainly in the interests of a stronger foothold in the future. The Bombay Native Education Society was established under indigenous educators and it was expected that some Western concepts would be introduced in the primary, secondary and post-secondary institutions in the course of teaching law, literature, etc. An Engineering Institute already existed in Poona, while another one was added in Bombay in order to train Indians in mechanical arts and lower services. These semi-skilled people would, in turn, provide help to European engineers in the construction and supervision of public works (Carnoy, 1974, pp. 98-99). It is interesting to note here that these very same institutes trained European students to be surveyors, engineers, etc.

Grant's ideas of "assimilating a conquered people" through the introduction of "the language of the conquerors" was producing results in the 1820s through people like Raja Rammohan Roy. Rammohan Roy was the preceptor of a religious reform movement known as the Brahmo Samaj and was the first among a number of Hindu religious reformers, who perceived British rule as a good influence. He attempted to utilize the British as an ally in reforming oppressive Hindu traditions in a secular and Western perspective. He battled for the abolishment of customs like Sati (widow-burning), for property rights for women and for the use of the English language in the law courts. Rammohan Roy died in 1833. He has often been described as a towering figure in the so-called "Bengal Renaissance" of the 19th century which produced a large number of English-educated figures who made a concerted attempt to Westernize, secularize, and modernize India.

The first Reform Bill was passed in Parliament in 1832. The middle classes had attained political power and were in favour of their ideology of laissez-faire capitalism. In 1833, the Charter of the East India Company was due for renewal and presented a golden opportunity for the implementation of laissez-faire capitalism. The trading powers of the East India Company was abolished and it became a purely administrative body, i.e., the government of India. Provisions were made in the Charter that Indians could not be barred from holding offices in the Company, on the

basis of their religion, birthplace, descent or colour. According to Carnoy, the stage was set for hiring Indians to work in the lower administrative levels of the British Indian government and become loyal servants of the British Raj (Carnoy, 1974, p. 100.

English education was required immediately and Macaulay arrived in India in 1834 to hasten the process. Macaulay stated in his minutes that:

> In India, English is the language spoken by the ruling class. . . . We must do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern . . . a class of persons, Indians in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect (Nurallah and Naik, 1974, p. 136).

The political trends for anglicism in education were present at the turn of the 19th century in India. Macaulay's Minutes provided the ideological content and the rationale for the implementation of an English education. The emphasis on "a class of Indians" who were "English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect" but were Indian in blood and colour" is the main feature in the whole context of education: the foundation of cultural imperialism. It is important to comprehend the philosophical basis of Macaulay's legacy which emphasized onward and upward progress and is still a part of the English education system in India even today. There was a definite need for cheaper, lower-level administrative personnel and a greater proportion of consumers through economic development. But the primary

purpose of English education was "to build a cultural dependency among the educated and ruling classes so that revolution would never be a likely alternative" (Carnoy, 1974, p. 100).

The form that the education took for the elite lends credence to the theme of cultural imperialism. The British did not attempt to inculcate a firm knowledge of the fundamentals of science, technology, economics and politics but merely emphasized English literature, philosophy and metaphysics in the "most slavish imitative fashion" (Carnoy, 1974, p. 101). This type of education helped the Indians to attain some sense of vocabulary, necessary for working in law and administration. Moreover, it infused a respect and admiration for "the aristocratic virtues of the majestic English language and culture" and a simultaneous contempt for the Indian background (Carnoy, 1974, p. 101). Unfortunately, this is true of certain educated Indians even today. The content of this education led to the creation of a particular class of Indians as predicted by Macaulay, who felt more at home with British professors rather than Indian peasants, with whom they were unable to communicate. The students were taught English history and literature in great detail and almost nothing about their own background. By the time their English education was completed, these students acquired English as a first language, often unable to translate it into simple sentences in Indian languages.

Macaulay's well-known "Downward Filtration Theory" was seriously debated at this point. Macaulay emphasized the English education of a restricted number of people, who would then share their knowledge with the masses and eventually this knowledge would somehow "filter down". Carnoy refers to the "Downward Filtration Theory" as an elaborate rationalization for the reason that education involved very little financial expenditure at this stage and was confined to the English education of a small elite group of future civil servants. The British Indian government would not take any responsibility, or what was referred to as "direct responsibility" for the education of the mass of the Indian people (Carnoy, 1974, p. 102).

The basics of the Anglicist policy was the creation of a demand for English education by making it the only way of securing employment with the government, which was lucrative by Indian standards. The entire system of English education, particularly in Bengal, was oriented towards training for government service. Many of these English-educated Indians became clerks (Babus") of the British Indian administration and out of this arose the "Babu Culture", which indicated a definite preference for white-collar clerical jobs, and is true of Indian life, particularly Bengali life, even today.

Education in Indigenous Languages
(Also Known as Vernacular Education)

Beyond a certain point, the government had to take responsibility for the education of the mass of the people

for economic, as well as political reasons. Due to disruptions caused by the American Civil War, Britain was beginning to rely more and more on India as a source of essential raw materials, especially cotton. In order to create a suitable environment for utilizing India properly as a source of raw materials, the British Indian government attempted to introduce major reforms and generally increase their involvement in Indian life. There were efforts to break down the caste system and create a labour market in order to increase trade. There were attempts to conquer and annex new territories to facilitate an increase in agricultural productivity and tax revenues, and to build railways, telegraph and postal systems, and on the whole, build up an infrastructure that would unify the country's communications. This would, in turn, strengthen Britain's trade, along with her military and political power. Marx had commented in the process of analyzing British rule in India:

> The English millocracy intend to endow India with railways with the exclusive view of extracting at diminished expanses the cotton and other raw materials for their manufactures. . . . But the railway system will . . . become in India, truly the forerunner of modern industry (Marx, in Tucker (ed.), 1978).

Education in Indian languages came gradually since most of it was under the government guidelines of the Wood Despatch, although some of it was undertaken informally. The major demand for this type of education came from the newly acquired territories like Bombay and the Northwest which were interested in raising the production of raw cotton for

export to Britain. The government here established more efficient systems of land settlement and taxation in comparison to the decadent zamindari system which operated in Bengal. They dealt directly with the peasantry in the Ryotwari system and took up this opportunity to construct an indigenous system of education which would teach the peasants accounting and farming methods and win more political support and approval from the colonial government at the same time (Carnoy, 1974, p. 104).

Wood Education Despatch

The Charter of the East Indian Company came up for renewal in 1853. An appointed select committee of the House of Commons conducted a full-scale inquiry into educational developments in India. The result of the inquiry was presented in the form of the Wood Education Despatch which proved to be the foundation of British educational policy for the next 70 years (Carnoy, 1974, p. 104). The Despatch clearly stated that:

> our object is to extend European knowledge throughout all classes of the people. We have shown that this object must be effected by means of the English language in the higher branches of instruction and by that of the vernacular languages of India to the great mass of the people (Nurullah and Naik, p. 213).

A two-tiered approach emerged in educational policy with English for the elite, vernacular for the masses. An education department was created in each province of British India. Teacher-training colleges were founded and it introduced the system of grant-in-aid. There was some

encouragement given to secondary, as well as primary education. But the plans of mass education by the Woods Despatch were not achieved. Higher education was given enormous importance and the three universities at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras were established in 1857 as aggregations of existing colleges and schools under British administrative control. According to Carnoy:

> The purpose of the reform was to rationalize the system of selecting educated youth for civil service appointments, not to change it. The universities simply standardized and made more selective the examination procedures, so that the number and types of labour available could be more centrally controlled. It was only during the time of Lord Curzon that the universities (then five) became actual teaching institutions (Carnoy, 1974, p. 105).

The provinces conquered by the British after Bengal emphasized vernacular education and primary education to a greater extent. Unlike Bengal, which came under the Permanent settlement, certain provinces were under the Ryotwari settlements which assessed taxes for peasants directly. It appears that the mode of agricultural production and what was produced, for instance, export crops like cotton, produced different responses to vernacular primary education in various Indian provinces. By 1852, Bombay had 233 vernacular schools with over 11,000 students and 14 government colleges and English schools with 2,000 students. Bengal, on the other hand, had 30 colleges with 5,000 students but only 33 primary schools. Bombay was able to set up a direct tax for education but the colonial government had a much harder time getting people to pay for

primary education in Bengal, mainly due to the Permanent settlement and the fact that Indians had already established their own education system (Carnoy, 1974, p. 107). A system of indigenous primary education based on existing village schools was developed in the northwest Agra province. The schools were organized in geographic bunches (circles or Halkabandi as they were called) with one travelling teacher-overseer for a region. This travelling teacher-overseer was part of the process of revenue collection. The people were pleased with the system and were persuaded to pay a portion of their tax directly for education, which was then levied as a grant-in-aid. However, Carnoy adds that this system was established after a scheme for English and higher education failed to win the support of the people, so there must have been considerable hostility (Carnoy, 1976, p. 107).

In 1881-82, there were about 2 million students in primary schools, included in the education system of the British Indian government; about 7% of the school age population. By 1922, the number of children in primary school had increased to 6 million, which represented about 17% of the school age population (Carnoy, 1974, p. 107). After 70 years of the Wood Despatch, only one in ten Indian children was receiving primary education in the vernacular in British India. So very little was actually done in mass education. Although most princely states in India had very few children in school, Baroda and Travancore had about 60% of school age children in primary school by 1930, mainly

due to the efforts of their progressive rulers who emphasized education more than the British (Carnoy, 1974, p. 108).

Educational expenditures was about 6% of military expenditures in 1882 and rose to 9% in 1920. The literacy rate remained stable between 1835-38 and 1931: about 4.4% in 1935-38 and 6.0% in 1931 (Carnoy, 1974, p. 108).

A major provision of the Wood Despatch stated that only primary schools, which charged a monthly fee from students and were supported partially by the local community, would be eligible for grants-in-aid. This was quite advantageous for the British Indian government which then did not have to spend too much on education (Carnoy, 1974, p. 109). Consequently, only people with means were able to organize and pay for their children's schooling. Besides, the grants-in-aid system of the government neglected thousands of indigenous informal village schools like the Halkabandi system already in existence, and most of these schools disappeared by 1902. The British Indian government emphasized trained teachers, class schedules, school fees and looked unfavourably upon the Halkabandi system of wandering teachers providing instruction in village schools (Carnoy, 1974, p. 109).

The formal education system was therefore organized to maintain strict control over existing education. Carnoy

elaborates that:

> this once again confirms the political goals of British educational policies as practiced in India. The old social, economic, and educational system was broken down, and a very tightly controlled and not very extensive new system was put in to replace it. Education was developed to provide Indian sub-administrators and clerks for the British government service - thus the higher secondary and university system developed after 1854. Indians trained as sub-administrators were thoroughly anglicized by the curriculum and selection process of the higher levels of schooling. At the same time, a primary school system was installed which was limited in the number of children it reached and was controlled to prevent an independent base of power and ideas to develop. Because of the fees charged, only families from higher-income brackets could afford to send their children to school. As late as the 1920's and '30's, few girls went to school at all (Carnoy, 1974, p. 109).

Limited industrial growth added to small-holding plantation agriculture combined to curtail the demand for primary-school educated labour. The percentage of Indians living in urban areas remained constant between 1872 - 8.5% and 1921 - 10.2%. Industries did not expand enough to attract Indians outside the lowest castes into working in the organized sector. Since the British Indian government also had a policy of keeping primary education in check, government expenditure was in the area of defence and in the small educational sector, on higher levels of schooling.

The opportunities for educated Indians were usually as bureaucrats in the British Indian government, since this is the sector that the British wanted to expand. Primary education was curtailed and limited in accessibility. The anglicist policy of the British Indian government in education created a taste for English education, and the

demand for secondary education, largely private and preparatory to university education, increased rapidly. Along with this, there was an increased demand for university education leading to the establishment of new universities. English was used as the language of instruction, both at the secondary and the university levels.

The Montagu-Chelmford Reforms of 1919 proposed that the Department of Education ought to be transferred to the care of Indian ministers. The government was not particularly concerned about primary education. But a great controversy ensued over the control of secondary and higher education. Certain colleges and the education of Anglo-Indians and Europeans were retained under the jurisdiction of the British Indian government. The Department of Education eventually came under the control of Indian ministers. Carnoy observes with great insight, that:

> the resistance to giving Indians control of secondary and higher education shows again that the British considered these levels far more important to their colonization policy than the disregarded primary schools (Carnoy, 1974, p. 112).

Section II: Education on the Eve of Indian Independence in 1947

The English education policy laid down in 1854 by the Wood's Despatch was on the whole adhered to until 1947. The Laissez-Faire policy, emphasized by the Indian Education Commission or the Hunter Commission in 1882, led to the rise of numerous privately managed schools and colleges which charged low fees and admitted large numbers of students. Many of these private institutions had become in fact coaching institutions with too many students and very little learning (Basu, 1982, p. 10).

Lord Curzon arrived in 1898 as the Viceroy of British India and directed criticism at the political consequences of English education, particularly higher education. Curzon's purpose in attacking the education system was to attempt to make it politically safe for the British Raj and he promptly abandoned any laissez-faire doctrines about state non-interference in education. Curzon started on the task of forming a new education policy by summoning all the Directors of Public Instruction to a conference in Simla in 1901. This was followed by the appointment in 1902 of the Indian Universities Commission which proposed reduction in the size of University Senates and stricter conditions of affiliation for colleges. The Indian Universities Act of 1904 emerged from the recommendations of this Commission and attempted to increase the efficiency of University

governance as well as improve teaching standards to a small extent (Basu, 1982, p. 12). However, the Sadler Commission in 1917 and the Hartog Committee in 1929, as well as the Radhakrishnan Commission in 1948. Shortly after independence, the complaints continued about low standards and the poor quality of university education (Basu, 1982, p. 12).

English education had a predominantly literary bias, emphasizing the study of languages and the Humanities. Of the professional colleges, Law colleges were the most popular. Medical, Technological and Agricultural education were severely restricted. Besides, the employment policy of the government usually appointed British technical and medical personnel, thereby indirectly discouraging Indians from pursuing medical or technical careers. In 1916-17, there were only 4 recognized engineering colleges with an annual output of about 74 engineers. However, there were still more engineers than jobs (Basu, 1982, p. 18). By 1947, there were 24 medical colleges with an enrolment of 8,797, and 29 agricultural colleges with 5,000 students, a low figure for a population of 400 million (Basu, 1982, p. 18). Appendix IV provides the statistics of educational institutions and enrolment covering almost a hundred years from 1855 to 1947 (Basu, 1982, p. 14).

By the early decades of this century, India had a system of colleges and secondary schools which concentrated on the urban and upper and middle classes, leading to the utter neglect of primary education and mass education. After the

Montagu - Chelmsford Reforms of 1919, when education became a transferred subject under Indian Ministers, nearly every province in British India passed a Primary Education Act.. But these remained inoperative on the whole since local bodies proved unwilling to impose special taxes to finance primary education. Of the total government expenditure on education in India, only about 30% was spent on primary education in 1937, as against nearly 70% in most countries of Western Europe, North America or Australia (Basu, 1982, p. 19). The failure or primary education in rural areas was mainly due to the high ratio of wastage and drop-outs, caused by poverty since the ordinary peasant had few occasions to read and write and education was an expensive luxury. Even if primary education was free in theory, there was some cost involved in books, slates, etc. and the poor rural parent could not afford the opportunity costs involved and chose to engage the male child in agricultural work and the female child in domestic work.

By 1947, all over India, literacy and formal education were more widespread among men than women, in urban areas than in rural areas and among the higher castes. By 1921, the percentage of literacy among women was only 1.8%. After 1921, mainly due to a political awakening, the proposition of enrolment of girls and women increased to some extent (Basu, 1962, p. 20). Despite efforts by Mahatma Gandhi after 1921, the percentage of literacy, as well as enrolment, remained quite low among scheduled castes and scheduled tribes even in

1947 (Basu, pp. 82, 21).

English colonial education created an urban intelligentsia. Other than that, the low rate of literacy, neglect of mass education, as well as of technical, medical and vocational education, the content and method of teaching were all severe inpediments in the path of Indian development in the early era of Indian independence after 1947. As Basu comments, the role of education as an agent of change and transformation (if any) had been distorted by the colonial milieu in which it functioned (Basu, 1982, p. 21).

Chapter 6

FORMAL EDUCATION IN THE POST-INDEPENDENCE ERA

Section I: Five Year Plans

India became a sovereign democratic Republic in 1951 with Jawaharlal Nehru as her first Prime Minister. Nehru's vision of a modernized India had great implications in the far realm of formal education. The Five Year Plans, initiated in 1951, would provide concrete strategies and avenues for planned development, both for the modern organized as well as the unorganized sector. Educational Planning was a major component of the Five Year Plans and began in earnest from the First Five Year Plan in 1951.

Before embarking upon a discussion and an analysis of educational planning in India, it is necessary to begin with a definition of terms. John Laska defines education as the management of learning experiences in order to bring about desired changes in human behavior (Laska, 1968, p. 2). Defined in this way, education is more encompassing than the term schooling, since it could also include informal instruction such as a parent teaching a child. However, in the scope of Indian planning, education is used strictly in the sense of formal instruction provided by institutions, and can be regarded as equivalent to schooling. Therefore, the term education or educational system can be used, in

this particular context, synonymously with schooling or school system. Schools, then, serve as major instruments in society for the achievement of educational tasks that are inadequately and less efficiently fulfilled by informal agencies of education. Laska further defines "a plan" as a projected course of action for the accomplishment of an objective; in other words, plans relate means to ends. Educational outcomes sought in educational planning serve both ends and means since they are the objectives which the plan intends to achieve but they are also the means to the further end of national development (Laska, 1968, p. 2).

The conclusion that arises from the discussion of these vital terms is that all education must be planned. This statement follows logically from Laska's definition of education as a purposeful activity directed towards the achievement of a specified learning objective. India has adhered to the concept of planned development as the basis of her formulation of national policy since 1951. Proposals and programs for the advancement of education at all stages and in all aspects formed an indispensable part of national planning.

The Constitution of India urges the people of India to secure for all their fellow citizens social, economic and political justice, liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship, and equality of status and opportunity (Kattackal, 1978, p. 8). The fundamental objective of educational development in India, as declared by politicians

and planners alike, is to evolve a national system of education suited to the needs of economic development and social reconstruction and rooted in the basic values of the Indian nation (Kattackal, 1978, p. 8). Education is primarily the responsibility of state governments in India but the Central government has certain specific responsibilities as directed by the Constitution. These include coordination of education facilities, determination of standards of higher education, scientific and technical education, research, and promotion of Hindi and all other Indian languages (Kattackal, 1978, p. 7).

The first four years of independence were a period of transition, and very little attention was given to the development of a national system of education. The state governments planned certain broad schemes of improvement and expansion during this period and the Central government created a Ministry of Education and Scientific Research (Kattackal, 1978, p. 8). By 1950, Indian education planners and policy-makers claimed that they were able to ascertain the country's quantitative educational requirements and the Central Advisory Board of Education approved the principles which were gradually incorporated into the "comprehensive national First Five Year Plan launched in April, 1951 (Kattackal, 1978, p. 8). The successive Five Year Plans became the major instrument for educational planning as well as economic and social planning.

Laska comments that "the creation of the Planning

Commission" in March, 1950, marked the effective beginning of comprehensive national planning in India (Laska, p. 66). The educational sector usually occupies a chapter in the national Five Year Plans. The chapter on education in the first Five Year Plan opens with the following statement: "Education is of basic importance in the planned development of a nation (Kattackal, 1978, p. 9). The Planning Commission clearly stated that "the provision of a certain minimum of education to all citizens within a reasonably short period of time is an essential prerequisite, next only to food, for the successful implementation of development, programs and survival of democracy" (Laska, p. 68). For the attainment of this objective, universal primary schooling would presumably have been an important requirement and it might be expected that the First Five Year Plan would have placed a major emphasis on the growth of primary education. Yet, the rate of expansion proposed for primary education was to be the same as that recommended for secondary education.

The First Five Year Plan emphasized the improvement and strengthening of existing educational institutions and the expansion of facilities as and when resources became available, as two of its major goals (Kattackal, 1978, p. 9). The six items identified as the major needs of the future were as follows:

(1) reorientation of the educational system and integration of its different stages and branches;
(2) expansion in various fields, especially in those of basic and social education;

(3) consolidation of existing secondary and university education and the devising of a system of higher education suited to the needs of the rural areas;
(4) expansion of facilities for women's education;
(5) training of teachers, especially of women teachers and teachers for basic schools and improvement in their pay scales and conditions of service;
(6) helping backward states by giving preferential treatment to them in the matter of grants (Kattackal, 1978, p. 9).

The resources available for fulfilling the educational needs of the country were rather meagre. The targets set for various sectors of education by the end of the Plan period in March 1956, constituted enrolment of 60% of all the children within the age group 6 to 11 and 15% of the children within the age group 11 to 17 and social education for 30% of the people within 14 to 40 years of age. There were no set targets for university education (Kattackal, 1978, p. 9). The First Five Year Plan was responsible for the appointment of a Secondary Education Commission under the chairmanship of Dr. A.L. Mudaliar in 1952 and the publication of its report in 1953; and the passing of the University Grants Commission Act in 1956.

The Second Five Year Plan (1956 to 1961) set detailed targets to be aimed at in the fields of primary education, secondary education, university education, technical education, social education, higher rural education, teacher education and in the area of development of cultural programs (Kattackal, 1978, p. 10). As against the final figure of Rs 1.69 billion provided for education in the First Five Year Plan, Rs 3.07 billion was assigned to

education during the Second Plan (Kattackal, 1978, p. 10). However, the actual expenditure incurred seems to have been only Rs 2.73 billion in the education sector during the Second Plan period.

The Second Plan was responsible for the establishment of the All India Council of Secondary Education and the Directorate of Extension Programmes of secondary education, as well as the large scale development of technical education (Kattackal, 1978, p. 11). The number of educational institutions of all types which stood at 366,641 at the end of the First Plan period increased to 472,655 at the end of the Second Plan period. The number of students on rolls increased from 33.92 million to 47.96 million and the number of teachers went up from 1.1 million to 1.5 million (Kattackal, 1978, p. 11). However, according to Laska, the Second Plan continued to "express verbal goals that were satisfactory but the actual enrolment targets failed to conform with those objectives (Laska, 1968, p. 66).

The Third Five Year Plan (1961-1966) was devised with a view of long-term objectives ranging over the next 15 years. The chapter devoted to education in the Plan document opened with an inspiring statement which reads as follows:

> Education is the most important single factor in achieving rapid economic development and technological progress and in creating a social order founded on the values of freedom, social justice and equal opportunity. Programmes of education lie at the base of the effort to forge bonds of common citizenship, to harness the energies of the people, and to develop the natural and human resources of every part of the country. . . . It is one of the major aims of the Third Plan to expand

> and intensify the educational effort and to bring every home within its fold, so that from now on, in all branches of national life, education becomes the focal point of planned development (India, Planning Commission, Third Five Year Plan, 1961, p. 573, quoted in Kattackal, 1978, p. 11).

The total educational expenditure during the Third Five Year Plan period was Rs 5.89 billion (Kattackal, 1978, p. 12). The Plan emphasized primary education marginally and science and technical education at the secondary and university levels strongly. It should be noted that as against 13% and 19% of the entire budget being utilized for technical education in the First and Second Plans, a little over 25% of the total financial outlay was earmarked for technical education (Kattackal, 1978, p. 12).

There were concerns over the education of girls and women and certain targets and programs were set to reduce the male-female disparities which existed. The Plan also proposed to complete the reorganization of university education which was begun in the previous decade, along with the expansion and improvement of facilities for post-graduate studies and research work. During this period, the number of educational institutions of all types increased from 472,655 to 727,263; the student enrolment figure rose from 47.96 million to 70.5 million; and the number of teachers increased from 1.5 million to 2.13 million (Kattackal, 1978, p. 12). The Third Plan was responsible for the appointment of the Education Commission under Dr. Kothari in October, 1964, which published its report on June 29, 1966.

The Third Five Year Plan was followed by three Annual Plans for the years April, 1966 to March, 1969. The situation created by the Indo-Pakistan conflict rise in prices, severe drought, devaluation of the currency, led to the erosion of the resources of the Fourth Five Year Plan. Consequently, the finalization of the Fourth Five Year Plan was delayed. The Three Annual Plans were introduced in this interim between the Third and the Fourth Plan. The Report of the Education Commission, also known as the Kothari Commission, was perhaps the most important educational event of this period. According to J.P. Naik, this report dealt with all aspects and sectors of education in a comprehensive manner, for the first time in the history of education in India (Naik, 1969, p. 115). The government of India formulated a National Policy on Education which was issued in the form of a government resolution and provided the framework for educational policies and programs launched in the Fourth Five Year Plan (Kattackal, 1978, p. 13).

The Fourth Five Year Plan (1969 to 1974) identified most of the unfulfilled tasks pertaining to education with remarkable clarity. The Fourth Plan would attempt to remove the deficiency in the system of education and endeavour to link it more effectively with the rising demands of economic and social development. Besides, the removal of internal strains caused by rapid expansion of education during the first three Plan periods was also a top priority. The system of education would tune itself in response to economic needs

and social urges. The Fourth Plan proposed action in the areas of primary education, girls' and women's education, education for backward areas and communities, science education, teacher education, improvement of post-graduate education and research, development of Indian languages, improvement of curricula and textbooks, technical education, and finally the closer linking between the education and the economic-industrial sector to provide employment (Kattackal, 1978, p. 13).

The Planners allotted Rs 8.226 billion for education in the Fourth Plan period to accomplish the ambitious course of action proposed by the Plan. However, only Rs 7.8 billion of this amount was spent during this period. The Constitutional Directive of free and compulsory education for the age group 6-14 was upheld by this Plan once again and there were attempts toward its implementation to a larger degree. There was a renewed emphasis on the consolidation and diversification of secondary and higher education so as to meet the varied needs of trained personnel of adequate standard (Kattackal, 1978, p. 14). The actual enrolments fell short once again of the target of the Plan at the primary and secondary levels. However, the target was exceeded at the post-secondary level enrolments during the same period.

Both the Fifth Five Year Plan (1974-1979) and the following Sixth Five Year Plan (1979-1984) attempted to address questions of equality of educational opportunity and

the establishment of closer links between education and the job market. The Seventh Five Year Plan has taken effect from April, 1985. The total budget for education in the Fifth Plan was 12.85 billion. A Draft Plan was published in 1974, in lieu of the finalized Fifth Plan which was delayed by problems that had afflicted the country in the early seventies. The Draft Plan acknowledged considerable education expansion but emphasized certain existing inadequacies, some of which were legacies of the past, and attempted to address them through the issues of equality of educational opportunity, closer links between education and employment, higher quality of education and the involvement of students in the process of national development (Kattackal, 1978, p. 14).

The final draft of the Fifth Plan was ratified by the Indian Parliament towards the end of 1976. Though the basic goals and directions remained the same from the Draft Plan to the finalized Fifth Plan, the targets for elementary, secondary, and university enrolments were lowered considerably. The Draft Plan had a proposed enrolment target of 78.2 million or 97.6% of the age group 6 to 11, 21.58 million or 47.1% of the age group 11 to 14, 11.2 million or 26.1% of the age group 14 to 17 for various school levels and 4.65 million or 6% of the age group of 17 to 23 for the university level (Kattackal, 1978, p. 15).

Achievements of Planned Development

Most observers have agreed that a tremendous expansion has taken place in Indian education through planned development since 1950-1951. The statistics of quantitative expansion appear quite impressive.

Table 1

	1950-51	1974-75
1. Enrolment in classes I to V (Age group 6-11)	19.15 million 42.6%	66.33 million 86%
2. Enrolment in Classes VI to VIII (Age group 11-14)	3.12 million 12.7%	16.30 million 38%
3. Enrolment in classes IX to XI/XII (Age group 14-17)	1.22 million 5.3%	8.50 million 22%
4. Enrolment at the University Stage (Age group 17-23 and beyond)	360,000 .8	3.00 4.4%

Source: Kattackal, 1978, p. 16.

(Refer to Appendix 1 for detailed enrolment figures until 1981, for all levels).

However, if these figures are analyzed with reference to national aims and objectives, a better perspective would emerge. The Directive Principles of State policy, included in Article 45 of the Indian Constitution, emphasize that the State shall attempt to provide, within a period of ten years (1960), free and compulsory education for all children until the age of 14. Also, the state shall devote special attention to the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of society (Kattackal, 1978, p. 16). It is now

officially stated that providing free, compulsory, formal education to all Indian children in the age group 6-11 is beyond the present financial resources of the country unless other priorities are overshadowed by larger funding allocations to education (Sapra, C.L., Seminar on Planning and Administration of Education in India, Thursday, March 27th).

The enrolment of children between the ages of 6 to 11 increased about three-and-a-half times and doubled percentage-wise. In the 11 to 14 age group, enrolment has increased over five times minimally and over three times percentage-wise. The striking aspect is the sevenfold increase in the enrolment figures of the 14 to 17 age group and the eight-and-a-half times increase in enrolments of the 17 to 23 age group in higher education. Educational planning over a period of time to promote education, research and create a large pool of highly skilled technical and scientific workers, has been successful, particularly in the higher levels of education where there has been tremendous expansion.

The advance in technical, vocational and science education, especially at the university level, has been phenomenal (Naik, 1974, p. 469).

After independence, India was faced with the task of developing her predominantly agrarian economy into a strong industrial one in a short period, in keeping with Prime Minister Nehru's visions of a modern, industrialized India. The task was

begun educationally on a very narrow base. The country produced only 930 graduates in engineering and 320 graduates in technology in 1947 (Naik and Nurallah, 1974, p. 468). Besides, facilities for advanced training at the post-graduate level were very meagre in technology and almost non-existent in engineering. The establishment of Indian Institutes of Technology, Regional Engineering Colleges, Polytechnics, Industrial Institutes, through planned effort, helped to build a large pool of technical personnel.

The expansion of science education and of science departments in universities, along with the development of scientific research is another example of fairly successful planning. Tremendous strides have been made in agricultural education and research, as well as the veterinary sciences. By 1974, there were 107 institutions teaching agricultural and veterinary sciences and the enrolment in these institutions had increased 16 times since 1950 (Kattackal, 1978, p. 18). Teacher education had also made rapid strides with an increase of 24 times in the number of colleges and over 30 times in the number of students (Kattackal, 1978, p. 18).

The expansion of facilities in medical and paramedical education, again due to national planning, led to a nearly threefold increase in terms of doctors (from 47,500 in 1950 to 138,000 in 1974) and a fivefold increase in terms of nurses (15,000 in 1950 to 88,000 in 1973) by 1974, or the end of the Fourth Plan. By 1978, there were 106 medical

colleges graduating an average of 12,000 doctors a year (Kattackal, 1978, p. 18). There has also been considerable expansion in post-graduate teaching and research in medicine. Regional post-graduate centers are being established and an All India Institute of Medical Sciences has been created by an Act of Parliament. A National Institute of Health Administration and Education has also been established and medical research is being promoted under the Indian Council of Medical Research (Naik and Nurullah, 1974, p. 468).

Problems of Planned Development

Some efforts have been made in educational planning for the development and use of the all-India official language, Hindi, and more than a dozen other major Indian languages for educational and other purposes. However, Hindi has met with tremendous resistance in the non-Hindi speaking areas, particularly southern India, and has not proved itself as a successful medium of national communication and integration. Despite legislation, provisions and opportunities for education in major Indian languages, English remains predominantly the language of the elite education at the primary and secondary level, followed by higher education. The reality, even after 37 years of independence, is that English is necessary for access to the corridors of power and entrance to the power circles.

There has been a disproportionate increase in secondary and post-secondary education which has led to serious

imbalances within the educational system, as well as the economy. The fruits of educational and economic growth have benefitted the elite in the last 37 years since independence. The vast majority of India remains largely illiterate and non-vocal, while a small vocal literate minority flourishes, and betters itself through the various channels of mobility. It is obvious by this time that there is something seriously amiss with the kind of educational planning that has taken place in India.

Primary education has in theory been made available to everyone and despite initial successes in enrolments, the mounting drop-out rate neutralizes the possibility of any concrete progress. Despite attempts to combat elitism, education continues to be the domain of the privileged. Almost 82% of the Indian population live in villages. Rural living is a handicap to education for the oppressed groups, viz. poor peasants, landless labourers, women, scheduled castes and scheduled tribes to name a few. By establishing primary schools within a five-mile radius of every village, the Indian government had hoped to provide primary school education for all village children (Chitnis, 1974, p. 92). However, five miles is no mean distance where children of primary school age have to walk to school. Since secondary schools are even more scattered than primary schools, access to this level of education is even more difficult for the poor rural masses (Chitnis, 1974, p. 92). Where schooling is available, the choice of subjects is extremely limited, which not only hinders post-school education of rural

children but affects their chances of finding suitable employment as well. Besides, the experiences of rural children are quite limited in comparison to even the urban poor in applications of technology, "new patterns of social organization and relationships" that are emerging in the modern Indian cities (Chitris, 1974, p. 92). This unfamiliarity with the modern elements of urban life may impede the progress of rural children from disadvantaged backgrounds.

The neglect of primary education has been a major weakness in planned educational development. The low priority accorded to adult education, particularly the area of adult literacy, comes a close second in the list of weaknesses.

The literacy rate, according to the 1981 census, has increased to 36.17% - 46.7% of males and 24.2% of females (Arnove, 1984, p. 380). Though these figures do show a significant rise in literacy during a period in which the population doubled, the goal of universal literacy remains a distant dream. In total numbers, there were 150 million more illiterates in 1981 than there were in 1951 and at present, more than half the world's adult illiterates are found in India. Besides adult illiteracy, inequalities in male-female, urban-rural, and caste-non-caste education have continued to exist (Arnove, 1984, p. 380). Appendix II based on census data of 1961 and 1971 will provide a better picture of these persistent inequalities. The current

statistics are bound to be even higher. There is a definite link between literacy and development, as seen from the example of highly industrialized nations. In the Indian context, it would be fair to add that there appears to be a direct correlation between illiteracy and poverty, which are, in many ways, inseparable. Illiteracy has to be tackled on a large scale, particularly with simultaneous attempts to eradicate poverty. From Paulo Freire's analysis in Pedogogy of the Oppressed, it can be said that a vicious circle exists in the poverty-illiteracy chain, since no illiterate people can eliminate poverty, and poverty-stricken people have priorities other than literacy (Freire, 1971). Perhaps the most serious problem of adult illiteracy is the mental barrier which divides the urban "modern" world of India from the illiterate rural world (Kattackal, 1978, p. 21).

It is obvious that planned development in education has led to quantitative expansion without necessily improving the quality of education. However, even this expansion has been disproportionately large in the higher levels of education in comparison to primary and adult literacy education. Education has remained the domain of the elite, who have essentially concentrated on re-establishing themselves through newer avenues in higher education. Though literacy has increased over the last three decades, the total number of illiterates has also increased with the rising population.

Despite the planning in education for the last 37 years, the basic structure and organization of the education system has remained the same - a legacy of colonial education. Surface attempts at addressing these basic issues in education have been over-shadowed by economic, political and social constraints of the existing order and its directions and goals. It should be interesting to take a closer look at the impact of colonial education and how certain essential elements of this impact constitute the basic structure of Indian education today.

Chapter 7

EDUCATION AS STATUS RECONFIRMATION

Poromesh Acharya provides an interesting class analysis of the present educational system with respect to Bengal (Acharya, 1985, p. 6). This analysis can be extended quite logically to a pan-Indian focus. During the colonial period, a class of English-educated people or "Bhadralok" emerged in Bengal. Though English education first took roots in Bengal, by the end of the 19th century, there was a corresponding English-educated class in the rest of India as well. The indigenous education system was being rapidly eroded and the people who remained in this system were gradually isolated from the mainstream of Indian political economy. Provinces like Bombay adopted a vernacular system of education on a smaller scale, along with the English education system. So in colonial India, there was a wide disparity between the English-educated elite and the masses, mostly illiterate, some with traditional or vernacular education.

Acharya points out that since independence in 1947, a "three tier system" has taken shape (Acharya, 1985, p. 6). The topmost strata constitute a small section of the population at the top with elite English schooling; the second strata includes a large group of neo-elites in the middle with education in vernacular-medium schools and the lowest

strata constitute the majority of illiterate labouring people at the bottom. Colonial education caused a deep divide between the few English-educated people and the rest of the population. A "segregative system" of education to train a small elite was established under the British Raj. This English-educated class remained subservient to the colonial rulers who looked upon the former as intermediaries between the British and the mass of the Indian people. The structure of the Indian education system has not undergone a radical transformation since independence. Acharya states that "it is evident that a segregative system of education grew in accordance with the social differentiation and political development since independence" (Acharya, 1985, p. 6).

A brief class analysis of rural-urban India is relevant here. The upper strata in rural India consists of landowners, rich peasants, middle peasants, some middle castes who are independent craftspeople like the icon makers in Bengal or the rich dairy farmers of gujarat. The lower strata consists of poor peasants - landless labourers who are often from the lower castes and the scheduled castes and tribes. The lower strata would also include certain lower castes who have no control of or access to the means of production and work as wage-earners, employed by the upper strata. The upper strata essentially define and control the means of production, while the lower strata lacks this control and are dominated by the upper strata since they provide the

means of livelihood to the wage-earners.

Urban India is harder to define in terms of a class analysis, particularly the elite strata. The urban elite consists of a political strata, a commercial strata, a broad strata loosely referred to as the middle classes, the military official strata, etc. According to Bottomore:

> The middle classes as a whole influence economic development not only by the contribution of their special skills, but by their general commitment to modern ways of living. In the various types of underdeveloped society, different groups within the middle classes may have a more or less predominant influence . . . the middle classes have been created by the educational and administrative systems which the ruling colonial powers introduced, as may be seen particularly clearly in the case of India. An Indian historian, B.B. Misra, in his well-documented account of the growth of the middle classes there, has observed that 'the bulk of the Indian middle classes came to consist of the intelligentsia - public servants, other salaried employees and members of the learned professions' (Bottomore, 1967, pp. 97-98).

There also exists an intermediate strata in urban India, often referred to as the lower middle classes. This strata is composed of a large group of people, generally educated in the vernacular medium, holding lower level "white collar" clerical and "blue collar" industrial jobs. Finally, the lower strata composed of illiterate people, employed in menial occupations, usually the slum dwellers of every Third World city.

The Elite School Factor in India

It would almost be superfluous to state at this point that the economic status of parents or a family is a significant determinant of school selection (Kumar, 1985,

p. 3). However, it is essential to keep sight of the economic factor in examining the contribution of education in the creation or status-reconfirmation of English-educated elite roles in Indian society.

The concept of private schools originated in colonial India. Certain missionary societies like the Jesuit fathers or the Loreto Nuns began schools for the urban elite and attempted to provide English education with Christian overtones. Schools like St. Xavier's in Calcutta, St. Columbus in Delhi, Don Bosco in Madras, St. Mary's in Bombay, were boys' schools started by missionary societies to provide education for the sons of the wealthy, along with attempts at conversion to Christianity. Similarly, schools like Loreto House in Calcutta, Convent of Jesus and Mary in Delhi, Christ Church school in Bombay and Church Park Convent in Madras served a similar purpose for the daughters of the wealthy by providing a "genteel" education for being English-educated young ladies and subsequently suitable wives for English-educated gentlemen in urban elite circles. The missionary schools are grouped under the Inter-State Board for Anglo-Indian Education. Besides the efforts of missionary societies, the so-called "public schools" in India which also originated under the British Raj, are based on "the spirit of British public schools which they imitate and whose historical origins they share" (Kumar, 1985, p. 2). Like their British counterparts, the Indian public schools, now 55 in number under the All India Public Schools

Conference, portray "the spirit of a bygone era of history and continue to uphold an unmistakable aura of imperial days" (Kumar, 1985, p. 2).

There are various types of quasi-public schools run by private organizations with a variety of interests, including business concerns and religious or ethnic societies. The Saraswati Shiksha Parisad is one such organization which operates private schools (Kumar, 1985, p. 2). The missionary schools could perhaps be placed under the broad label of quasi-public schools, but it is necessary to place them in an independent category to identify their contributions in a historical context since their origins, like those of "public schools", can also be traced back to the colonial era.

There are certain types of schools within the government school system that are built on the model of private schools and provide a similar type of English education. They generally cater to specific groups of parents within the government school system and were created after independence. Among them are "Sainik Schools" meant for children of military officials which are members of the All India Public Schools Conference (Kumar, 1985, pp. 3-4).

> Central Schools cater to the children of the Central Government's civil servants and carry a definite prestige since they run with far superior resources than are available to the state government schools in the same town or area. Central schools also follow a different curriculum and examination pattern (Kumar, 1985, p. 4).

There are schools for the 'gifted' among the children of

government employees, such as the Navyug School run by the New Delhi Municipal Committee.

Private Schooling in India

	Primary	Secondary/Higher Secondary
Aided Private Schools	201982 (42.5%)	26991 (57.3%)
Unaided Private Schools	7558 (1.6%)	1672 (3.5%)

(Figures in brackets show the proportion in percentage out of the total number of schools at each level).

Source: Fourth All India Educational Survey (National Council of Educational Research Training), 1982. Quoted in Kumar, K., Reproduction or Change? Education and Elites in India, 1985, p. 3, Proceedings of Conference on Education and Social Change in India: Reinterpretations and New Directions, June 10-13, 1985, McGill University, Montreal).

Most of these private schools charge high tuition fees which narrows down the clientele to a small section of the population. The meritocratic selection of children aged 3½ to 6 to private schools gives these institutions an added character of exclusiveness. Kumar comments that:

> At this age, merit is judged in terms of etiquette and certain types of skills such as drawing a sketch, piecing together a puzzle. Private pre-schools have mushroomed in all metropolitan towns and they claim to impart such skills along with fluency in English specifically to facilitate children's success in meritocratic admission tests. Clearly, the items of merit whereby schools test applicants for admission mirror parental inputs and socio-economic class (Kumar, 1985, p. 3).

Therefore, it would be appropriate to add that selection on the basis of merit is obscured by factors relating socio-economic background. People from a certain socio-economic class aspire for a certain type of education to reconfirm

their elite status and have the necessary means to obtain this expensive and exclusive education. Furthermore, the preparation given to the children of the elite through select pre-schools and parental inputs helps them to succeed in the apparently meritocratic criterion of selection.

In the creed of private schools, the practice of 'early selection' is a major characteristic in the Indian educational system (Kumar, 1985, p. 1). Early selection allows 'sponsored mobility' rather than 'contest mobility', children of the elite are selected at an early age and placed in separate institutions where they are prepared - "in terms of skills, behavioral norms, and values - specifically for elite status in their later life" (Kumar, 1985, p. 2). All these different types of exclusive schools offer a path of "sponsored mobility" to elite occupations. These paths run through elite institutions at the higher education level institutions such as the Indian Institutes of Technology, Institutes of Management, Central Universities, famous city colleges (St. Stephen's College, Miranda House, Hindu College and Lady Shree Ram College in Delhi, Presidency College, Lady Brabourne College, St. Xavier's College in Calcutta, Elphinstone College, St. Xavier's College and Sydneham College in Bombay and Presidency College, Loyola College, Stella Marie College and Madras Christian College in Madras) and so on. Each of these paths include meritocratic selection and the products of private schools and those of elite government schools (like Central Schools as mentioned

earlier) are successful with almost predictable regularity, far outnumbering the products of common schools (Kumar, 1985, p. 4). Kumar provides an example from the National Science Talent Search Examination conducted by the National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT) every year throughout the country. The majority of NSTS scholarships available are won and held by students of private schools almost every year (Kumar, 1985, p. 4).

The whole process of education in elite institutions of learning at all levels represents a large and rapidly-growing elite sector of education in India. The success through formal education in obtaining elite positions in society is based on access, entry and effective utilization of this elite sector of education. This elite sector of education functions entirely in English and the next logical step to probe deeper into this sector is to examine the power and the importance of the English language. English permeated into Indian life in the 19th century through English education and is a tangible legacy of colonialism felt in many facets of Indian life. The primacy of the English language is inextricably tied to formal elite schooling and therefore to the maintenance of the position of the elite in society.

The English Language, Control and Status-Reconfirmation

India can be broadly divided into two major stratas - those with English education and those without. Between these areas of black and white, there is, however, a large area of

grey, a middle stratum of people with education in the vernacular languages. But for analytical purposes, mainly to highlight the standing and control of the English language, the two-part division of those with English education and those without, will be maintained.

The English language has been accepted in post-independence India as the language of business, administration and military forces (Di Bona and Singh, 1985, p. 6). Despite the bitterness displayed towards the British and their language by certain sections of Indian Nationalist leadership at the turn of this century, independence was achieved largely under the leadership of Western-educated liberals like Nehru and Macaulay's bitter contempt for indigenous education languages was soon forgiven and forgotten. Though there was opposition from a small vocal section with nationalist sentiments, India retained English as an Associate Language by an Act of Parliament in 1963. Over the last three-and three-quarter decades, English gradually became a "link language" in "the country of its occupation" and obtained the standing of being the key factor for entering the arena of employment in the government bureaucracy as well as the private sector (Di Bona and Singh, 1985, p. 6). It is an inescapable economic reality that English education has definite superiority and acceptance in the job market and can be called a passport to elite positions in Indian society. Any attempts on the part of Central or State governments to emphasize regional languages, without

addressing the reality of the persistent importance of the English language, has met with fierce resistance from regional populations who regard this as a superficial imposition. Since English still retains its status as a meal-ticket, a major social and educational transformation would be necessary to replace English as the link language, especially in the employment sector. A recent example is that of the democratically elected Marxist government in West Bengal and its attempts to increase the importance of the Bengali language on a regional basis, which met with fierce resistance from the educated Bengali population who have otherwise rendered unrestrained, overwhelming support to this state government (Watson, 1982, p. 10).

The position of the English language in India has facilitated the neo-colonial hold, in terms of educational assistance from Britain and the U.S.A. which is usually disguised as a humanistic endeavour of the highest order. The Anglo-U.S. publishing industry operates very successfully in India, due to the prevalence of the English language. The content of the curriculum in elite schools, particularly missionary schools, is still fairly Western in content and the publishing of textbooks of the Anglo-Indian school board is still monopolized by the Anglo-U.S. publishing industry.

Educational assistance from the U.S.A., and Britain in science education, as well as scientific research, is another example of the neo-colonial stranglehold maintained through the English language. This is not to say that

cultural or educational interaction in the field of education is undesirable and a form of educational apartheid in India is desirable. However, science in recent years has come under attack from philosophers, sociologists, historians, feminists, etc. for not being the objective pusuit it was portrayed to be. In fact, science emerges in different historical epochs from concrete human interests and the elite in a particular period direct the type of science that is explored (Habermas, 1968; Kuhn, 1972). So scientific assistance, often couched in the highest altruistic terms, can be an extension of neo-colonial interests and India's dependence on English in its scientific pursuits and for its research information strengthens neo-colonial ties.

The position of English in India has strengthened considerably since independence due to its primacy in education, employment, business and elite social circles. Di Bona and Singh provide various examples to back this up and instances such as the popularity of English textbooks, English dailies, English children's literature and even English telephone directories in comaprison to the same kinds of publication in Hindi or other regional languages provide ample testimony to the importance of the English language.

The English language and English education provides the English-educated elite with a means of reinforcing their hegemony over the rest of the population who have no English education. Prestigious higher education associated with engineering, medicine, technology and management are

conducted entirely in English and remain the preserve of the elite and a potent means again of reconfirming their status.

Science, Technology and Elitism

Science and technology are important components in the development of a nation like India, particularly in view of her retarded scientific and technical education and progress under British colonial rule until 1947. It is well known that Indian education under British rule had a predominantly literary bias and the study of literature, logic, politics and philosophy was emphasized, while the teaching of sciences and of technical and vocational subjects was neglected. It would be appropriate to add that within Britain as well, no serious attention was given to technical education until the 1860's (Basu, 1982, p. 39). Medicine and civil engineering received some attention in higher education under the British Raj. However, the growth of higher scientific and technical education was tied to government employment and economic policies. As long as the higher technical positions in government service were reserved primarily for the British, and private industries were foreign-owned giving preference to foreign employees, the Colonial government did not see much point in encouraging scientific and technical education (Basu, 1982, p. 51).

The major initiative in advancing the study of science and technology was taken by Indian nationalist and business leadership in the first decade of this century. The leaders

of the Swadeshi movement in Bengal started a college of engineering and technology at Jadavpur, a suburb of Calcutta, in 1907. Progress of scientific and technical education was exceedingly slow and severely retarded by the time of Indian independence in 1947.

Almost 38 years after independence, India claims to be the tenth industrial nation in the world and the proud possessor of the third largest pool of scientific workers on a world scale as well. According to Dinesh Mohan:

> The number of educational establishments, research laboratories, scientific institutions have increased manyfold since independence and so have the number of students enrolled in schools and colleges. At the same time, all those things which were expected to reduce with a better educated populace seem to have also increased or at least remained the same: communal violence, centralization of power, foreign collaborations and lack of innovation. This means that either our earlier expectations were misplaced, or that our education has not been particularly effective in imparting scientific values, or both (Mohan, 1985, p. 2). (Also refer to Appendix III).

The existence of English as a medium of scientific, academic and serious communication among the elite has probably retarded the progress of the science education in India since form becomes more important than the substance of science (Mohan, 1985, p. 24). Since science and technical education is provided in English, the English-educated elite again have a decided advantage in pursuing scientific and technical education. The structure of formal education, including the upper strata of English education, as well as the lower strata of vernacular education, does not encompass the entire population. Adorned with one of the lowest

literacy rates in the world (particularly in adult illiteracy) and a very high dropout rate, the education base continues to be quite small for the volume of the population, while a disproportionate expansion has taken place in higher education. Therefore, a major determinant again in students pursuing higher scientific or technical education remains the socio-economic class and the financial circumstances (Mohan, 1985, p. 25). Besides, the demand of the elite to retain English education and scientific and technical education in the English medium is a means of maintaining the status quo and restricting information dissemination within a small section of the population to retain socio-economic and political control. Science and technology appear to be serving elite interests in India, by expanding into spectacular science like space, nuclear energy, instead of directing its energy in areas like public transportation, housing, clothing, medicine, health, food and nutrition (Mohan, 1985, p. 27).

Elite Education and the Contradiction of Mass Examination

Historically, the system of mass examination played an important role in the development of modern Indian formal education. According to Krishna Kumar:

> During the latter half of the 19th century, when the old education system - characterized by a loosely structured network of locally-governed schools - died and the new system with its centralized control took over, the institutionalization of examination as a major factor in the transformation. . . . The new system depended on written examinations and acted to evolve

> a bureaucratic governance of education. The function of the written, impersonal examination in the emerging education system was to keep the curriculum stable and confined to the prescribed syllabus and textbooks. Mass examination provided to the nascent Indian middle class a sense of hope and belief in the fairness of the colonial order (Kumar, 1985, p. 5).

With the introduction of mass examination, education came under bureaucratic control. Formal education also came to be viewed as a suitable avenue for earning a living. The elite sector of education, through its early selection procedure, provides a safe route towards elite occupations to the children of the elite. Superior methods of teaching and training in the curriculum through the medium of the English language gives students in the elite sector a definite edge over others and a better chance of passing these competitive examinations. Mass education offers society the illusion of equality, attempting to give the idea that mobility can be achieved through open competition. However, the existence of a dual school system, in the English language and regional languages, has led to the creation of an upper and lower strata in formal education and mass examinations, usually conducted in English, favour the upper strata.

Chapter 8

CONCLUSION

Language and the formal structure of education have been the two essential components of status reconfirmation for the elite in India. The whole question of the English language and its primacy in Indian life was discussed in detail in the previous chapter. A knowledge of English acquired through elite schools appears to have been a requirement of elite status of missionary, public school and science and technology provenance. And, often, a knowledge of English acquired in ordinary state schools would not suffice or make one eligible for elite circles. Furthermore, since English was retained by an Act of Parliament in 1963, it has perhaps become even more entrenched in India through its use in higher education, business, government administration, science and technology.

Throughout Indian history, therefore, as this study suggests, a definite pattern has been emerging. In each era, an elite language available only to a minority has been the language of the power elite. In Ancient India, Sanskrit was the language of the court, the upper classes, formal education and classical literature and poetry. The language of the masses was Prakrit, and certain religious sects with a mass orientation, like Jainism, used Prakrit in expounding their

philosophy.

In medieval India, Persian was the court language of administration. The elite had to possess a knowledge of Persian in order to gain favours from the monarchy or participate in administrative functions. Centres of Hindu learning flourished alongside centres of Persian learning. However, in this era, Persian was the elite language and the formal education structure emphasized Persian in order to equip the power elite with the language of the Mughal court.

The early effort in introducing Western education in India in the late 18th and the early 20th centuries was made by missionaries like William Carey in Bengal. The major purpose of this attempt to spread Western education was the propagation of Christianity and helping the indigenous people to read and understand the Bible. So instruction in the English language along with knowledge about Western civilization formed the basis of the teachings of missionaries. This was at the time the only access route to the language of the new rulers of India.

In the next phase, the Anglicist policy of education gradually gained support and became the direction of the British Raj in the 1830s. The main advocate of English education, Macaulay, a Law Member of the British Indian Administration, confirmed the Anglicist direction through his Minutes of 1835 in which he spoke of a class of Indian collaborators who merely looked Indian but were English in taste, opinion, morals and intellect. Besides, since the

English made their profits chiefly by trading with the indigenous people of India, Macaulay was convinced that trading with civilized men was infinitely more profitable than governing savages (Porter, 1975, p. 21) and this meant using a European/British form of communication.

English education in England in the mid-19th century was liberal and humanistic in nature, emphasizing literature, philosophy, history and other related subjects. The curriculum included very little scientific knowledge. Perhaps a case could be made here that there was no great emphasis on science education in Britain itself at this time. However, the interesting point in colonial education in India is that this pattern of liberal humanistic education never evolved in the next hundred years until independence to include scientific and technical education whereas England, faced with German and American competition, made the transition.*

The system of education in 1947 was therefore not different in any significant way from that envisioned by Macaulay, well over a century ago. There was very little scientific and technical education by the time of independence and India had a very late start in providing the proper beginnings of such instruction in the curriculum. The emphasis on a liberal English education, a legacy of

---

*The initiative for technical education came from the Nationalist leaders in the first decade of this century when an Engineering College in Jadavpur, a suburb of Calcutta was begun (Basu, 1982).

colonial education continues even today at the elementary and secondary level.

Since 1951, all the Five Year Plans have stressed scientific and technical education, especially at the higher levels. The Indian Institutes of Technology, the Indian Institutions of Science and the Indian Statistical Institutes are world renowned centres of scientific and technical education. There is a concerted attempt on the part of politicians and planners to encourage science and technology and the development of a rational scientific perspective in education, but thus far it has penetrated only a small part of the Indian population.

There is an increasing hope that the new generations of post-independence Indians will be equipped with the perspectives of a sound scientific and technical education. And it goes without saying that the development of the country will receive a tremendous boost from the emerging new generations of scientifically oriented Indians with an added knowledge of humanistic disciplines.

However, as discussed in the previous chapter, certain problems in the prevailing system of education have to be recognized. The net literacy of India still remains about 37 percent nearly 38 years after independence. Statistics have shown that half of the world's adult illiterates are found in India (Arnove, 1984). India has not made significant advances in increasing literacy, causing a severe dichotomy between literate and illiterate Indians.

The formal education structure serves in reality about two-fifths of the population. Within formal education, there is a dichotomy once again between the elite sector of schooling and the common sector of schooling. The former is largely private, with some government inroads on support like Central schools, fee-paying and provides English education. The latter is usually run by state governments, mostly free and provides Vernacular education. A third strata is now emerging from certain private common schools (few in number) which provide some English education, of an inferior variety, outside the elite school sector.*

Higher education does have a small private sector, especially among city colleges. Higher education is usually administered by the government and emphasizes the English education provided by the elite sector of schooling, giving the graduates of that sector an edge over the rest of the students. Mass entrance examinations to elite institutions of of higher education provide the illusion of equality by stating that all students are able to take these exams. However, in reality, these exams favour students from the elite sector of schooling in terms of content and preparation. The successful candidates are usually graduates of the elite sector of schooling (Kumar, 1985).

---

*From my personal knowledge of the city of Calcutta, elite schools like St. Xavier's provide English education, while government schools like South Suburban School provide Vernacular education. State schools like Jodhpur Park Boys' School provide an English education inferior to that of the elite schools.

It would be appropriate to state in conclusion that formal education is a means of status-reconfirmation for the elite in India in the present system. The elite operate from a certain base of power, pass through a select route in formal education which reconfirms their status and finally return to this power base by occupying positions of authority.

REFERENCES

Books:

Altbach, P.G., and G.P. Kelly. Education and Colonialism. New York: Longmans, 1978.

Amin, Samir. Imperialism and Unequal Development. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1977.

Andreski, S. (ed.). Max Weber on Capitalism, Bureaucracy and Religion. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1983.

Antonova, K., G. Bongard-Levin and G. Kotovsky. A History of India, 2 Vols. Trans. Katherine Judelson. Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1979.

Basham, A.L., ed. A Cultural History of India. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975.

Basu, Aparna. The Growth of Education and Political Development in India, 1898-1920. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1974.

Basu, Aparna. Essays in the History of Indian Education. New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1982.

Biswas, A., Sunitee Dutt, and R.P. Singhal. The New Educational Pattern in India. Delhi: Vikas Publishing House PVT Ltd., Delhi.

Blaug, Mark. Education and the Unemployment Problem in Developing Countries. Geneva: ILO, 1973.

Bose, Ashish, Asok Mitra, P.B. Desai, and J.N. Sharma, eds. Population in India's Development, 1947-2000. Delhi: Vikas Publishing House PVT Ltd., 1974.

Bottomore, T.B. Elites and Society. Middlesex: Penguin, 1964.

Byres, T.J., and P. Nolan. Patterns of Inequality, Inequality: India and China Compared: 1960-70. Open University Series, 1975.

Carnoy, Martin. Education as Cultural Imperialism. New York: Longmans, 1977.

Carnoy, Martin. Education and Employment: A Critical Appraisal. Paris: Unesco, IIEP, 1977.

Chakravarty, Amiya, ed. A Tagore Reader. Boston: Beacon Press, 1961.

Chandra, Bipan. Modern India. New Delhi: NCERT, 1971.

Chandra, Bipan. The Rise and Growth of Economic Nationalism in India. New Delhi: People's Publishing House, 1966.

Chopra, S.N. India: An Area Study. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House PCT Ltd., 1977.

Datta, K.K. Socio-Cultural Background of Modern India. Delhi: Meenaskshi Pradashan, 1972.

Di Bona, Joseph, ed. The Context of Education in Indian Development. Durham: Duke University, 1974.

Dore, R. The Diploma Disease: Education, qualifications and development. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1976.

Dutt, Romesh. The Economic History of India in the Victorian Age: From the Accession of Queen Victoria in 1937 to the Commencement of the Twentieth Century. Trubner's Oriental Series. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1956.

Dutt, R.P. India Today. London: Victor Gollancz Ltd., 1940.

Dutt, R. Palme. India: Today and Tomorrow. Revised and Abridged Edition of "India Today". Delhi: People's Publishing House, 1955.

Fanon, F. The Wretched of the Earth. Hammondsworth: Penguin, 1969.

Franda, Marcus F., ed. Responses to Population Growth in India: Changes in Social, Political, and Economic Behavior. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1975.

Frank, A.G. Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1969.

Frankel, Francine R. India's Political Economy, 1947-1977: The Gradual Revolution. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1978.

Freire, P. Pedagogy of the Oppressed. London: Penguin, 1971.

Freire, P. Education for Critical Consciousness. London: Sheed and Ward, 1972.

Gandy, D. Ross. Marx and History. Austin and London: University of Texas Press, 1935.

Habermas, Jurgen. Knowledge and Human Interests. Trans. Jeremy J. Shapiro. Boston: Beavon, 1971.

Hag, M. The Poverty Curtain: Choices for the Third World. New York: Columbia University Press, 1976.

Hagedown, Robert (ed.). Sociology. Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada, 1980.

Hanson, A.H. The Process of Planning. London: Oxford University Press, 1966.

Harnetty, Peter. Imperialism and Free Trade: Lancashire and India in the Mid-19th Century. Vancouver: UBC Press, 1972.

Harrington, Michael. The Vast Majority: A Journal to the World's Poor. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1977.

Harrison, Paul. Inside the Inner City: Life Under the Cutting Edge. Middlesex: Penguin, 1983.

Harrison, Paul. The Third World Tomorrow: A report from the battlefront in the war against poverty. Middlesex: Penguin, 1980.

Hiro, Dipip. Inside India Today. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976.

Hobson, J.A. Imperialism: A Study, 1858-1940. London: Allen and Unwin, 1948.

Illich, Ivan. De-Schooling Society. Harmondsworth: Penguin 1971.

Kabir, Humayun. Education in New India. New York: Harper, 1955.

Karabel, J., and A.H. Halsey. Power and Ideology in Education. New York: Oxford University Press, 1977.

Kripalani, Krishna. Rabindranath Tagmore: A Biography. London: Oxford University Press, 1962.

Kuhn, Thomas S. The Structure of Scientific Revolutions, 2nd ed., enlarged International Encyclopedia of Unified Science, 2, No. 2, Chicago. The University of Chicago Press, 1970.

Lamb, Beatrice P. India: A World in Transition. New York: Praeger, 1975.

Laska, John A. Planning and Educational Development in India. New York: Teachers' College Press, 1968.

Lenin, V.I. Imperialism's Highest Stage of Capitalism. Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1965.

Magdoff, Harry. The Age of Imperialism. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1969.

Majumdar, R.C., H.C. Raychaudhuin, and Kalikinkar Datta. An Advanced History of India. London: Macmillan, 1958.

Marshall, P.J., and Williams, F. The Great Map of Mankind: British Perceptions of the World in the Age of Enlightenment. London: J.M. Dent, 1982.

McLane, J.R. India: A Culture Area in Perspective. New York: Allyn Bacon Inc., 1970.

Mehta, Ved. Portrait of India. New York: Farrar, Strauss and Groun, 1967.

Mehta, Ved. The New India. New York: The Viking Press, 1978.

Meisel, J.H. (ed.). Pareto and Mosca. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall Inc., 1965.

Memmi, A. The Colonizer and the Colonized. Boston: Beacon Press, 1965.

Metcalf, T.R. The Aftermath of Revolt: India 1857-70. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964.

Metcalf, Thomas R. Modern India: An Interpretive Anthology. London: The Macmillan Company, 1971.

Mookerji, R. Ancient Indian Education (Brahmanical and Buddhist). Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1974.

Moraes, Frank. Witness to an Era. India 1920 to the Present Day. London: Widenfeld and Nicolson, 1973.

Morgan, K.O., ed. The Oxford Illustrated History of Britain. Oxford University Press, 1984.

Morrish, Ivor. Disciplines of Education. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1970.

Naik, J.P., and Sued Nurullah. A Student's History of Education in India (1800-1973). 6th ed. Delhi: Macmillan, 1974.

Naik, J.P. Policy and Performance in Indian Planning, 1947-74. New Delhi: Orient Longman, 1975.

Naik, J.P. Educational Planning in India. New Delhi: Allied Publishers, 1965.

Naik, J.P. The Main Recommendations of the Education Commission (A Summary). New Delhi: National Council of Educational Research and Training, 1969.

Naik, J.P. Elementary Education in India A Promise to Keep. Bombay: Allied Publishers, 1975.

Nehru, Jawaharlal. Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru, New Delhi: Orient Longman, 1972.

Panikkar, K.M. The Foundations of New India. London: George Allen Unwin Ltd., 1963.

Parikh, P.C. Educational Thinking in Modern India. Ahmedabad: Shree Mudranalaya, 1976.

Porter, Bernard. A Short History of British Imperialism 1850-1970. London and New York: Longman, 1975.

Rao, B.S. and V.N. Deshpande (eds.). Poverty: An Interdisciplinary Approach. Bombay: Madras Institute for Development Studies, 1982.

Ray, Rajat K. Urban Roots of Indian Nationalism: Pressure Groups and Conflict of Interests in Calcutta City Politics, 1875-1939. New Delhi: Vikas, 1979.

Ray, Rajat K. Industrialization in India: Growth and Conflict in the Private Corporate Sector 1914-47. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1979.

Ray, Ratnalekha. Change in Bengal Agrarian Society, 1760-1850. New Delhi: Manohar, 1979.

Seaman, L.C.B. A New History of England: 410-1975. Sussex: The Harvester Press, 1981.

Sears, S.W. (ed.). The Horizon History of The British Empire. New York: American Heritage Publishing Co. Inc. and B.B.C. T.V./Time-Life Books, 1973.

Segal, Ronald. The Crisis of India. Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1965.

Sen, Khagendra N. Education and the Nation: An Indian Perspective. Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1970.

Shukla, P.D. Changing Facets of Indian Education. New Delhi: Allied Publishers, 1973.

Simmons, John, (Ed.). The Education Dilemma: Policy Issues for Developing Countries in the 1980's. Oxford: New York: Pergamon, 1980.

Singh, Amrik, and Philips, G. Altbach. The Higher Learning in India. Delhi: Vikas Publishing House PVT Ltd., 1974.

Singh, Karan. Prophet of Indian Nationalism. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd.

Singh, R.P. Education in an Imperial Colony. New Delhi: National Publishing House, 1979.

Sinha, Sasadhar. Social Thinking of Rabindranath Tagore. London: Asia Publishing House, 1962.

Sinha, V.C. Dynamics of India's Population Growth. New Delhi: National Publishing House, 1979.

Spear, Percival. India: A Modern History. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1972.

Spear, Percival. A History of India. Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1973, Vol. 2.

Taylor, A.J.P. Essays in English History. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1976.

Taylor, John G. From Modernization to Modes of Production: A Critique of the Sociologies of Development and Unverdevelopment. Atlantic Highlands, New Jersey: Humanities Press, 1979.

Thapar, Romila. A History of India: Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1966, Vol. 1.

Thomas, R.M. Indian Educational Reforms in Cultural Perspective. New Delhi: S. Chand and Co., 1970.

Thomson, David. England in the 19th Century (1815-1914). Middlesex: Penguin, 1951.

Thomson, David. England in the Twentieth Century, 1914-63. London: Jonathan Cape, 1964.

Thompson, Edward. Rabindranath Tagore: Poet and Dramatist. 2nd ed. London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press, 1948.

Tucker, Robert C., (ed.). The Marx-Engels Reader. 2nd ed. New York: W.W. Norton and Company Inc., 1978.

Wallbank, W.T. A Short History of India and Pakistan. New York: The New American Library, 1963.

Wallbank, F.W. (Ed.). The Partition of India. Mass: D.C. Health and Co., 1966.

Watson, Keith, ed. Education in the Third World. London: Croom Helm, Canberra, 1982.

Weinberg, Ian. The English Public School: The Sociology of Elite Eeucation. New York: Atherton Press, 1976.

White, R.J. The Horizon Concise History of England. New York: American Heritage Publishing Co. Inc., 1971.

Wilber, Charles K., (ed.). The Political Economy of Development and Underdevelopment, 2nd ed. New York: Random House Inc.

Wolpert, Stanley. A New History of India. New York: Oxford University Press, 1977-1982.

Young, M., Hilary Perraton, Janet Jenkins and Tony Dodds. Distance Teaching for the Third World: The Lion and the Clockwork Mouse. Incorporating a directory of distance teaching projects. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980.

Zaheeruddin, A. Non-formal Education: A Remedy for Educational and Development Crisis in Third World Countries? Edmonton: University of Alberta, M.Ed. Thesis, Spring, 1982.

Articles:

Proceedings of a Conference on Education and Social Change in India: Reinterpretations and New Directions. McGill University, Montreal, June 10-13, 1985.

Alavi, Hamza. Imperialism: Old and New. Detroit Radical Education Project, 1971.

Aeharya, Poromesh. Education: Politics and Social Structure. Proceedings of a Conference.

Ahmad, Karuna. "Equity and Women's Higher Education", Journal of Higher Education, Vol. 5(1) (Monsoon, 1979).

Ahmad, Karuna. "Towards Equality: Consequences of Protective Discrimination", Economic and Political Weekly, January 14, 1978, pp. 69-72.

Arnove, Robert F. "A Comparison of the Chinese and Indian Education Systems", Comparative Education Review, Vol. 28, No. (3), August, 1984.

Bhagwati, Jagdish. "Education, class structure and income equality", World Development, Vol. 1 (5), (May, 1973).

Bowles, Samuel. "Capitalist Development and Educational Structure". World Development, 6 (1978), 783-796.

Carnoy, M. "Cultural Imperialism, Cultural Identity and Economic Development". Stanford University (mimeo), 1980.

Carnoy, M. "Education for Alternative Development". Stanford University, 1980.

Carnoy, M. "Class Analysis and Investment in Human Resources: A Dynamic Model". The Review of Radical Economy, Vol. 3 (4), Fall/Winter, 1971.

Carnoy, M. "The Political Consequences of Manpower Planning". Comparative Education Review, Vol. 19, 1975.

Carnoy, M. "Can Educational Policy Equalize Income Distribution?" Prospects, Vol. 8 (I), 1978.

Chandra, Bipan. "Reinterpretation of 19th Century Indian Economic History, Indian Economic and Social History Review, Vol. V, No. 1 (March, 1968.

Chitnis, Suma. "Education and Equality" in Education in a Changing Society, eds. A. Kloskoswki, Guido Martinotti, London: Sage Publications, 1977.

Chitnis, Suma. "Education and Social Stratification - An Illustration from a Metropolitan City." Proceedings of a Conference.

Di Bona, Joseph and R.P. Singh. "Modernity of Tradition in Indian Education: The Revival of Indian Languages and Indigenous Systems of Education". Proceedings of a Conference.

Di Bona, Joseph. "The Development of Educational Underdevelopment in India", Asian Profile, Vol. 5 (6), (December, 1977), pp. 607-619.

Diwan, Romesh. "Development, Education and the Poor: Context of South Asia". Economic and Political Weekly, February 26, 1977, pp. 401-408.

Eswara. Prasad, K.V. "Education and Unemployment of Professional Manpower in India", Economic and Political Weekly, May 19, 1979, pp. 881-872.

Frank, A.G. "The Wealth and Poverty of Nations", Economic and Political Weekly, Special Number, July, 1970.

Galtung, J. "A Structural Theory of Imperialism", Journal of Peace Research 8, No. 2 (1971): 83.

Kamat, A.R. "The Educational Situation", Economic and Political Weekly, June 24, 1972, pp. 1229-1237.

Kattackal, Joseph A. "Education in India's Five Year Plans: A Historical Review (1951-76), and Critical Appraisal", Canadian and International Education, Vol. 7(1), 1978, pp. 5-25.

Kaul, J.N. "Development of Indian Higher Education", Economic and Political Weekly, Special No., August, 1972.

Kurien, John. "Towards Universal Elementary Education - Promise and Performance" - Economic and Political Weekly, October 3, 1981, pp. 1608-1618.

Kumar, Krishna. "Reproduction or Change Education and Elites in India". Proceedings of a Conference on Education and Social Change in India: Reinterpretations and New Directions, 10-13 June, 1985. Montreal: McGill University.

Krotovsky, Grigori G. "Certain Trends in India's Socioeconomic and Socio-Political Development". Asian Survey, 24, No. 2, (Nov. 1984), 1131-1142.

Mohan, Dinesh. "Science and Technology Policy in India: Implications for Quality of Education". Proceedings of a Conference on Education and Social Change in India. Reinterpretations and New Directions. McGill University, Montreal, June 10-13, 1985.

Naidu, Usha S. "Child Labour and Education in India - A Perspective". Proceedings of a Conference.

Nandy, Ashis. "The Psychology of Colonialism: Sex, Age and Ideology in British India", Psychiatry, Vol. 45 (August, 1982).

Rao, Amiya. "Primary Education: Problems and Purpose", Economic and Political Weekly, March 8, 1980, pp. 503-506.

Rao, V.M., and M. Vivekananda. "The Poor as a Social Stratum: Some Economic Criteria for Studying Poverty". Economic and Political Weekly, 31 July, 1982, pp. 1107-1112.

Richman, Barry. "Chinese and Indian Development" An Anterdisciplinary Environmental Analysis". American Economic Review, 65, No. 2 (1975), 345-355.

Tandon, Rayesh. "Participatory Research, Education Experience and Enpowerment of Adults". Proceedings of a Conference.

Visaria, Pravin and Leela Visaria. "Indian Population Scene after 1981 Census". Economic and Political Weekly, Special No. November 1981, pp. 1727-1755.

Weisskopf, T.E. "China and India: Contrasting Experiences in Economic Development". American Economic Review, Vol. 65 (2), 1975, pp. 356-364.

APPENDIX I

Table 1

Enrolment and percentage of enrolment in classes in corresponding age group and absolute increase with percentage in 1961, 1971 and 1981

Educational Level and Age-group	Enrolment			Percentage of population in relevant age-group enrolled			(Figures in thousands) Increase			
							Number		Percentage	
	1961	1971	1981	1961	1971	1981	1961-71	1971-81	1961-71	1971-81
Classes I-V (6-11 years)	34,994	57,045	72,200	62.4	78.6	80.5	22,051	15,155	63.0	26.6
Classes VI-VIII (11-14 years)	6,705	13,315	18,700	22.5	33.4	36.9	6,610	5,385	98.6	28.8
Classes IX and above (14-17 years)	2,837	6,580	10,876	16.7	18.5	18.3	3,693	4,296	128.0	65.3
Higher Education (17-23 years)	2,590	3,502	5,921	5.1	5.7	6.8	918	2,419	35.2	69.1

Note: Figures for 1981 are provisional.

Sources: 1. Education in India, 1961 and 1971, Ministry of Education
2. Estimated by IAMR in National Manpower Accounts
3. CSO: Basic Statistics Relating to Indices Economy - 1950-51 to 1979-80

Mohan Dinesh, "Science and Technology Policy in India: Implications for Quality of Education", Proc. of a Conference.

APPENDIX II

LITERACY RATE IN INDIA, 1961 AND 1971

	Total Population (%)			Scheduled Castes (%)			Scheduled Tribes (%)		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1961:									
Urban	57.49	34.51	46.97	32.19	10.05	21.18	30.47	13.42	22.41
Rural	29.09	8.55	19.01	15.06	2.51	8.89	13.36	2.91	8.16
Total	34.43	18.70	24.02	16.95	3.29	10.27	13.82	3.17	8.53
1971:									
Urban	61.27	42.14	52.44	38.92	16.99	28.64	37.10	19.61	28.83
Rural	33.76	13.17	23.73	20.04	5.06	12.77	16.91	4.36	10.68
Total	39.45	23.60	29.45	22.36	6.44	14.67	17.63	4.85	11.30

SOURCES.—Department of Social Welfare, *Women in India—a Statistical Profile* (New Delhi: Government of India Publications, 1978), tables 4.1 and 4.2, pp. 117–21; *Yojana* 22, no. 18 (October 10, 1978), tables on pp. 38, 40.

Arnove, Robert. "A Comparison of the Chinese and Indian Education Systems". Comparative Education Review, August 1, 1984.

APPENDIX III

Table 2

Estimated stock, number of economically active persons, unemployment and employment of scientific & technical persons in 1980 and 1985

(Figures in thousands)

St. No.	Category	1980 (Beginning)					1985 (Beginning)			
		Stock	Number of economically active	Unemployment	Unemployment percentage to economically active	Inter se percentage of unemployment rates	Stock	Number of economically active	Unemployment	Employment
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
1.	Engineering Degree Holders	254.5	221.4	15.7	7.09	7.8	306.1	266.3	18.9	247.4
2.	Engineering Degree Holders	378.6	329.4	65.5	19.88	21.9	494.1	429.9	85.5	344.4
3.	Medical Graduates	178.5	155.3	10.1	6.50	7.2	211.9	184.3	12.0	172.3
4.	Dental Surgeons	11.6	10.1	0.2	1.98	2.2	13.4	11.6	0.2	11.4

Table 2 (cont'd)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
5.	Nurses (B.Sc.)	2.2	2.2	-	-	-	2.8	2.8	-	2.8
6.	Agricultural Graduates	98.8	77.1	8.8	11.41	12.6	115.9	90.4	10.3	80.1
7.	Veterinary Graduates	22.3	19.4	0.7	3.60	3.9	27.3	23.7	0.9	22.8
8.	Science Graduates	961.9	750.3	154.3	20.57	22.6	1226.3	956.5	196.8	759.7
9.	Science Post-Graduates	278.9	217.5	10.6	4.87	5.4	350.0	273.0	13.3	259.7
10.	B.Sc./B.Ed.	213.2	166.3	24.8	14.90	16.4	284.2	227.7	35.7	191.9
Total		2400.5	1949.0	290.7	14.90	-	3032.0	2466.1	373.0	2092.5

Source: Annexure 13.9, Page 220 of Sixth Five Year Plan, 1980-85 Planning Commission

Mohan, Dinesh, "Science and Technology Policy in INdia: Implications for Quality of Education", Proc. of a Conference.

APPENDIX IV

(a) Educational Institutions

	1855-56	*1901-02*	*1921-22*	*1946-47*
1. Universities	—	5	14	17
2. Colleges of General Education	21	145	172	496
3. Colleges of Professional & other Education	13	46	74	130
4. Secondary Schools (General)	281	1,170	1,248	5,297
5. Secondary Schools (Vocational & Technical)	—	94	292	665
6. Special and other Schools	7	990	3,729	4,746
7. Middle Schools		4,323	6,739	11,162
8. Primary Schools	50,676	97,854	160,070	172,681
Total :	50,998	104,627	173,313	196,891

(b) Enrolment by Stages

	1855-56	*1901-02*	*1921-22*	*1946-47*
1. University				
(i) Total	4.355	23,007	58,837	237,546
(ii) Girls	N.A.	264	1,529	23,207
2. Secondary Stage:				
(i) Total	33,801	82,312	218,606	370,812
(ii) Girls	N.A.	1,677	5,818	83,270
3. Middle School Stage:				
(i) Total	—	1,080,670	385,372	2,036,109
(ii) Girls	—	8,133	24,655	281,606
4. Primary School Stage:				
(i) Total	885,624	3,564,122	6,404,200	14,105,418
(ii) Girls	—	380,282	1,297,643	3,728,793
5. Total Enrolment of All Stages:				
(i) Total	923,780	3,886,493	7,207,308	17,750,263
(ii) Girls	N.A.	393,161	1,340,842	4,156,742

Basu, 1982, p. 14.

APPENDIX VI

Wolpert, 1977.

APPENDIX VII

Wolpert, 1977.